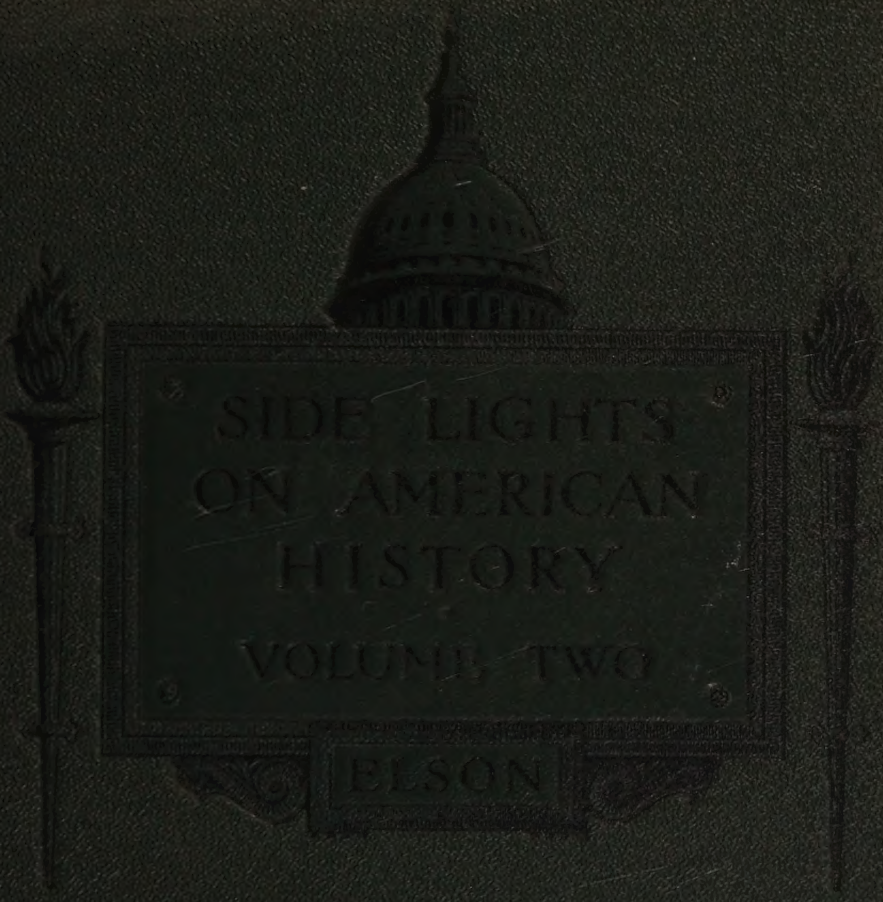
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ON AMERICAN
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VOLUME TWO
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SIDE LIGHTS
ON
AMERICAN HISTORY

REVISED EDITION

BY

HENRY WILLIAM ELSON, A.M., LITT.D.

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES,"
"MODERN TIMES AND THE LIVING PAST"

VOLUME II

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VOL. II

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

HISTORY can be presented to us only by means of pictures, reproductions of that which we cannot directly witness.

If you study a city from photographs, the general bird's-eye view is necessary to give you the relative size and location of things; but such a view is not enough. You must have pictures, on a larger scale, of a busy street, a mammoth office building, a public park, the interior of a workshop, and the like. The ordinary school history furnishes the bird's-eye view of our country's origin and growth; the present volume aims to give a more detailed account — a picture on a larger scale — of some of the chief events in our history. It is intended not to replace the textbook, but to supplement it.

The textbook gives the succession of events and, in some measure, their relative importance; but, owing to the multitude of subjects to be treated within the limits of a small volume, none can be exhaustively dealt with. It is impossible for any writer, however skillful, to relate historical facts in a form so condensed as that of the average textbook, and at the same time to give them that living interest so necessary in holding the attention of young readers. The textbook is useful and indispensable; it is the index that points to the vast wealth of knowledge that may be found in our historical literature; it furnishes the groundwork on which rests the entire structure of historic knowledge. But unfortunately the textbook too often is little more than a chronicle of events, an array of dates and facts, a skeleton

without flesh, without life, without soul. Such a book is ill adapted to awaken an interest in historical study, and can be used successfully in the schools only in connection with other works as supplementary reading. Used in this way the skeleton of the textbook may be clothed with flesh and have breathed into it the breath of life.

Our learned and more exhaustive historical works are beyond the reach of most busy people, nor are they adapted to use in the schools. Between these two extremes, the condensed textbook and the ponderous volumes of the historian, we find many books of great value — biographies, memoirs, histories of limited periods or of particular localities — but none of these, as far as the author knows, is fitted for the use of schools or was prepared with that end in view.

This work covers a field not hitherto covered. It has been written for the general reader, as well as for use in schools of the grammar-school grade and of the grades immediately above it. It is hoped that the book may also be found a pleasant review to the busy teacher, who has many things to teach and who finds it impossible to become a specialist in everything.

The period covered in Volume I is the first seventy years of our national history; but no attempt to give a connected history of that period has been made. At the same time much care has been taken to show the bearing of one great event upon another, their causes and results, and the part each bore in making our civilization what it is.

The subjects treated in the various chapters have been selected with the utmost care. The aim has been to choose, not the dramatic and exciting, but the strategic points, the pivots on which the ponderous machinery of our history has turned. This is true of most of the chapters. A few, however. such as "Washington's Inauguration," "Conspir-

acy of Aaron Burr," "The Campaign of 1840," and the "Underground Railroad," have been chosen with a view of picturing the state of society at the time treated.

In order that every important aspect of our national growth be presented to the reader, the subjects chosen are as unlike in character as practicable, and the events have been related with greater detail than is possible in the ordinary school history. This has been done at the sacrifice of leaving out many subjects of almost equal importance with those selected. Minor incidents and details in history, often insignificant in themselves, are, like illustrations in a sermon or lecture, useful for the light they throw on more important matters.

The authorities consulted in preparing this work are far more numerous than indicated in the foot-note references. Those given are chiefly the works most likely to be accessible to the reader who may be stimulated to further research.

H. W. E.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
May, 1899.

PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION

THE lasting success, unbroken for many years, of *Side Lights on American History* has been the inducement leading the author and publishers to issue this new and revised edition.

Every chapter has been worked over with much care and various new chapters have been added. Among the latter are (in Volume I) "The Indian"; "The French and Indian War" — from the author's *History of the United States;* "Incidents of the Revolution"; "Odds and Ends"; "A Batch of Biographies"; (in Volume II) "Anecdotes of the Civil War"; "Panama and the Caribbean"; "America and the Great War"; "War and the League of Nations"; and "Science and Invention in the Twentieth Century."

It is hoped that this edition, like the first one, will be found worthy of a place in many home libraries as well as in the school.

H. W. E.

NEW YORK,
November, 1927.

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SIDE LIGHTS
ON AMERICAN HISTORY

VOLUME II

Side Lights on American History

CHAPTER I

The Presidential Election of 1860

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The Democratic party had enjoyed a long lease of power — unbroken for sixty years, except for the two successful Whig campaigns in the forties; but as the presidential election of 1860 drew near, a general conviction took possession of the public mind that a great political revolution was at hand. The rapid rise of the Republican party had seriously threatened Democratic supremacy in 1856; but the personal integrity of Mr. Buchanan, coupled with the fact that his residing in England during the preceding four years had left his name untainted with Kansas-Nebraskaism, had secured to the Democrats one more national victory. But the axe was laid at the root of the tree.

Yet, so great was the vitality of the party and so deep-seated its hold upon the people, that it might have survived the odium of the Kansas-Nebraska Law and of the Dred Scott Decision, had it not been for quarrels that followed within its own household. The President, in disregard of public feeling at the North, urged upon Congress the admission of Kansas into the Union under the infamous Lecompton Constitution.[1] He thus incurred the open hostility of Sen-

[1] The Lecompton Constitution was framed by the proslavery party at Lecompton, Kansas, in September, 1857. This Constitution, which was not submitted to a fair vote of the people, sanctioned slavery in Kansas and forbade the passage of emancipation laws by the legislature. Many of the members who framed the Constitution had been elected by fraudulent means.

ator Douglas, who successfully resisted the passage of the measure.

The Republicans were not slow to profit by the dissensions of the Democrats. Thousands of Democrats, lukewarm after the Kansas-Nebraska Act, but still clinging to the party of their fathers, were now exasperated beyond endurance by the position of Mr. Buchanan, and were warmly welcomed within the Republican fold. The signs of the times, indeed, seemed to point to a Republican victory in the great contest of 1860, yet this would scarcely have been possible but for the fatal split in the Democratic party, which we must now consider.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

The National Democratic Convention met in April, 1860, at Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of adopting a platform of principles and of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice presidency. The party was not harmonious. The fraternal feeling between the two sections that had prevailed eight years before at the nomination of Pierce, and four years before when Buchanan became the standard-bearer, was now wholly wanting. The condition of the Democratic party was now very similar to that of the Whigs when they entered on their last national campaign in 1852; and the rock on which the Whig party had been dashed to pieces was the same that now threatened the Democracy.

The Charleston convention was called to order, and Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts was made permanent chairman. Cushing was a lawyer of great learning and experience. It is said that he could converse with almost any foreign minister in Washington in the latter's own language. He had been a member of Congress as a Whig away back in the thirties, was later in the cabinet of Tyler and Minister to China.

On his return to the United States, he joined the Democratic party, served through the Mexican War, was four years in the cabinet of Franklin Pierce, and was now in full sympathy with the extreme proslavery sentiment of the South. The selection of Cushing was the first victory of the South. There were thirty-three states in the Union at that time; and the fifteen slave states, joined by delegates from two of the free states, California and Oregon, had control of the committees and were thus enabled to name the chairman and to frame the platform. The free states, however, owing to their greater population, had a majority in convention, and that body was not obliged to accept the platform as it came from the majority of the committee.

The great battle was now fairly under way — a battle that was to rend the party in twain. The one vital point on which the combatants could not agree was slavery in the territories. The South demanded that Congress protect slavery in the territories against all unfriendly local legislation, while the northern delegates, in accordance with the view of their constituents, took the ground that each territory should control the matter for itself, and decide whether slavery should exist within its bounds. This doctrine was known as "squatter sovereignty," and Stephen A. Douglas was its author. Douglas, who, by his brave stand against the Lecompton Constitution, had regained much of the popularity lost by means of his Kansas-Nebraska Bill, was now again the Democratic idol of the North and the choice of that section for the presidency. But he had paid dearly for his re-won laurels; he had sacrificed his popularity in the entire South through his "Freeport Doctrine,"[1] and almost all the delegates from the slave states opposed his nomination.

[1] See Vol. I, p. 321.

Before balloting for candidates, however, it was necessary to decide upon a platform. The committee, after a serious struggle of several days, was unable to agree, and the result was two platforms brought before the convention. The position of the slave states was eloquently set forth by William L. Yancey of Alabama, the most famous orator of the South. In vain did the northern delegates declare that the party could not carry a northern state, if they yielded to the demands of the South concerning slavery in the territories. They were willing, however, to yield their squatter sovereignty plank, and to leave the matter of slavery in the territories to the decision of the courts. But the South was inflexible, and an agreement was impossible. When the convention balloted, the Douglas platform as reported by the minority of the committee was adopted by a majority of 27 on a total vote of 303.

The next great act in the drama immediately followed. The chairman of the Alabama delegation now arose and announced that the delegates from that state, as instructed by their constituents, would withdraw from the convention. This action was followed by the withdrawal of the delegates from Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, and Arkansas. The moment was a portentous and solemn one. Men looked at each other with tears in their eyes,[1] as much as to say, This is the fatal step, not only toward the disruption of the party, but toward the dissolution of the Union.

After the secession of the southern delegates the convention adopted the two-thirds rule and began balloting for a presidential candidate. Douglas led all other candidates from the start. On several ballots he received more than a majority of the votes, but always fell below the necessary

[1] Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1850–1896*, Vol. II, p. 451.

two-thirds. On May 3, after fifty-seven fruitless ballots had been cast, the convention adjourned to meet on June 18, in Baltimore, while the seceding faction decided to meet at Richmond, Virginia.

The adjourned convention met at the appointed time and place. Six weeks had elapsed since the Charleston convention had broken up in disorder, and the Republicans had met in the meantime and placed their candidates before the country. The strongest reasons now existed for a union of the Democratic factions, for without it the most sanguine could not hope for a victory at the polls. But union seemed impossible. The South would not and the North could not yield. Had the North yielded to the southern demands, it would have destroyed the Democratic party north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the Republican party would have been thereby greatly strengthened. There was no choice, therefore, for the delegations from the North, and, after several days' wrangling, most of the remaining southern delegates (those who had not seceded at Charleston), led by the Virginia delegation, withdrew from the hall. Chairman Cushing went with them and cast his lot with the South.

The convention again proceeded to vote for a candidate for President, and on the second ballot Douglas, receiving all the votes but thirteen, was declared the nominee. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was chosen as Douglas's running mate.

The seceding faction met in another hall and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and General Joseph Lane of Oregon for President and Vice President. The other faction that had met at Richmond ratified these nominations. In this divided condition the Democratic party went before the country in 1860, asking for the suffrages of the people.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

By far the greatest gathering of its kind in the United States up to that time was the Republican Convention that met in Chicago on May 16, 1860. The Republican party was young and full of enthusiasm; and its hopes of success in the coming battle were greatly strengthened by the want of harmony among the Democrats. The great convention met in a wigwam built for the purpose and said to accommodate ten thousand people. All the free states and several slave states were represented. Not only was the auditorium crowded to the doors, but tens of thousands of people surged in vain for admittance. Two days were spent in preparing and adopting a platform of principles, and on the morning of the third the balloting began.

There was no lack of candidates, the most prominent being William H. Seward of New York, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and Edward Bates of Missouri. Next to these stood Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania; but neither of these expected the nomination, nor were they seriously considered outside their respective states.

The one candidate far in the lead of all others was Mr. Seward. For many years he had been the great northern exponent of the principles on which the Republican party was founded. Before the party was born, he had stood in the forefront of the battle and had contended with singular courage in the national Senate and from the public platform for what he believed to be right in the government of the nation. The general belief on all sides was that the nomination of Seward was assured. Even his opponents on the evening before the balloting began telegraphed their friends at home their fear that the selection of Seward on the morrow was inevitable.

But there were powerful forces working against Seward. He had been too long in public life not to have made enemies. He was the author of the "higher law" doctrine, and he had used the expression "irrepressible conflict" in speaking of the strife between the North and the South on the slavery question. He was looked upon as the chief of the radicals representing northern thought, and on this account many conservatives hesitated to follow him. Moreover, Seward, when Governor of New York, had offended many of the Know-Nothings on the school question. The Know-Nothing or American party had now dissolved, most of its members had joined the Republicans, but they still held resentment against Seward, and it was feared that he would not be able to command their votes. These were the formidable obstacles in the way of Seward's nomination at Chicago.[1]

The next important candidate was Abraham Lincoln. As a national figure, it is true, he was no match for Seward; but after his memorable debate with Douglas in 1858, his star had steadily risen until now it shone with a brilliancy in the political firmament second only to that of the great New Yorker. Lincoln's Cooper Union speech in New York City the preceding winter had done much to bring him before the public and had won many friends, among whom was the venerable journalist and poet, William Cullen Bryant.

The people of Illinois were in serious earnest in their efforts to secure the nomination of Lincoln. The week before the convention met, the state convention at Decatur had named

[1] Andrew Curtin, the nominee of the Republicans for Governor of Pennsylvania, called the People's party in that state, Alexander K. McClure of the same state, and Henry S. Lane, nominee for Governor of Indiana, all leading spirits of the convention, declared that Seward could not carry their respective states in the election, and they did all in their power to compass his defeat. So also did Horace Greeley, whose compact with Seward and Weed had been dissolved some years before. Seward's canvass was conducted by that unrivalled political manager from New York, Thurlow Weed.

him as their first and only choice for President. One of his friends had there marched through the crowd bearing on his shoulder two rails on which was inscribed: "From a lot made by Abraham Lincoln and John Hanks in the Sangamon bottom in the year 1830." Henceforth, Lincoln was often called the rail-splitter, and the shouts now at Chicago for "honest old Abe, the rail-splitter," were loud and long.

Bates was also a man of national reputation; but it was not his personality nor his popularity that made him a possible candidate before the convention. It was rather the fact that he represented a slave state, and his selection would have done much toward weakening the most serious charge made against the Republican party — that of being a sectional party. Bates was supported by the *New York Tribune* and its famous editor, Horace Greeley.

The shouting for Lincoln on the morning of the first ballot was wild and enthusiastic. His managers had employed two men whose vocal powers were so great that their shouts, it is said, could be heard above the most violent storm. These two men, one of whom was a Democrat, were hired to sit in the gallery and lead the shouting for the Illinois candidate. As the ballot proceeded the excitement became intense. When the votes were counted, it was found that Seward had led with 173½ votes; Lincoln had 102; Cameron following with 50½, while Chase received 49 and Bates 48. There was no nomination, as it required 233 votes to make a choice. Cameron's name was now withdrawn, and on the second ballot many of the scattering votes were gathered in by the two leading candidates. Lincoln gained far more rapidly than Seward, and was found to be but 2½ votes behind the New Yorker when the result was announced. But still there was no nomination, and it was decided to adjourn until the next day.

Chicago during that night was a roaring, seething mass of humanity. In the early morning hours of the following day the Seward party made an imposing street demonstration led by a band in bright uniforms. While this was in progress the Lincoln party stole a march by filling the galleries of the wigwam with followers of the rail-splitter, with the result that when the Seward shouters came they found the place well filled and few of them could gain admittance. As the third ballot progressed the excitement grew in intensity, for it was felt that this would be the final and deciding vote. Cheer on cheer reëchoed through the great hall as one state after another recorded its vote for either of the two leading candidates. The confusion was indescribable as the rail-splitter steadily gained on the New York statesman, passed him, and finally came within 1½ votes of the great prize. Then for a moment the vast assemblage held its breath as a delegate from Ohio rose and announced the change of 4 votes from that state from Chase to Lincoln, thus giving him the nomination. But the silence was only for a moment, when there broke forth such terrific thunders of applause that the boom of cannon, announcing the event from the top of the building, could scarcely be heard inside.[1] The news of the nomination soon spread through the streets of the city; a hundred guns were fired from the top of the Fremont House; processions of men bearing rails in honor of "Old Abe" were formed on all sides, and indeed the whole city gave itself up to one long exultant shout of joy. The news was telegraphed to Lincoln at his office in Springfield. When informed of the work of the convention, he remarked, "There is a little woman at our house that would be glad to hear this; I'll go and tell her."

Outside of Illinois and a few adjacent states the nomina-

[1] *Cincinnati Commercial*, May 18, 1860.

tion of Lincoln created little enthusiasm in the party. The general feeling was one of disappointment. Seward had been looked upon as the coming man, and his followers were deeply mortified when he was set aside. Nevertheless, many of the common people rejoiced at the selection of the rail-splitter, nor was he without warm supporters among the leaders. Senator Douglas, his great antagonist, exclaimed to a group of Republican senators, "Gentlemen, you have nominated a very able and a very honest man."

A fourth party also took the field in this campaign. It nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

THE PLATFORMS

The chief issue in the presidential election of 1860 was the same that had held the attention of the country for several years past, the same that had been dominant in the famous joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas — slavery in the territories. The enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska Law and the different interpretations it received north and south of Mason and Dixon's line had placed this question foremost in the public mind; but in the campaign of 1856 the issue was less prominent than now. The South had not then made demands on the northern Democrats to which the latter could not yield, and the party had presented a united front to the enemy. But now the party was rent into two great factions, and the issue between the factions was the same as that between each of them and the Republicans — slavery in the territories.

The following are the three positions adapted from Greeley: The Republicans took the ground that slavery is a political and moral evil; that it can exist only where protected by law; that there is no law for it in the territories, nor

is there any power to enact one, and that Congress is not only without the power to protect slavery in terrritories, but is bound to prohibit it.

The Breckenridge Democrats represented the opposite extreme, taking the ground that, as the Constitution recognizes property in slaves, Congress is bound to protect such property in all public lands; that any slave owner may migrate into any United States territory and take his human property with him, nor have the people or the territorial legislature any right to exclude slavery by unfriendly laws.

The Douglas Democrats took the middle ground that Congress had absolutely nothing to do with the matter; that the people of a territory have the sole right to decide the question for themselves; that slavery or no slavery within the bounds of any territory must be left to a majority of the white citizens.

The fourth party, that led by Bell and Everett, did not announce its position on the all-important question. It simply pronounced for the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws, which meant "anything in general and nothing in particular." [1]

THE CAMPAIGN

The presidential campaign of 1860 was one of singular importance, owing to the one great question that was to be decided by the election; but the excitement was not so great as in some preceding national contests, owing to the quadrilateral character of political parties and to the fact that the main issue had already been before the people for several years and much of the campaign fire had burned out. It was an intellectual battle, the personality of the candidates not entering greatly into it. The most striking figure of the

[1] Greeley, *American Conflict*, Vol. I, p. 322.

campaign was that of Douglas, who spoke in many of the states and infused something of his own fiery energy into the canvass. But Douglas, with all his eloquence, could not stem the tide against him. He could hope for little support from the South, and the mind of the North was steadily turned toward the rail-splitter. But the personality of Lincoln was not a great attraction to the Republicans, though it is true that he grew in public favor as the canvass proceeded. He made no speeches, but remained quietly at his rooms in the State House at Springfield, directing affairs and attending to his voluminous correspondence.

Seward did not sulk in his tent on account of his defeat at Chicago. He manfully entered the contest and spoke for Lincoln in many cities. This action of Seward won him a greater degree of popularity than he had ever before enjoyed. "His magnanimity," said James Russell Lowell, "was a greater ornament than his election to the presidency would have been."

The campaign was eminently a sectional one. Douglas alone had a following in every state.[1] Lincoln had no support in the South, except in a few of the border states, while Breckenridge was scarcely mentioned in the Northwest or in New England.[2] The southern cry that Lincoln was a sectional candidate could have been answered by the statement that Breckenridge was no less so. The poets, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, and also George William Curtis, Henry Ward Beecher, and many other representative men were arrayed on the side of Lincoln. There was a large Union party in the South who voted for Bell and Everett, while the Breckenridge party openly avowed that,

[1] There was no Douglas ticket in Texas, and in South Carolina the electors were chosen by the legislature.

[2] Breckenridge had some following in Connecticut, and in most northern states he received a few scattering votes.

if Lincoln were elected, disunion would inevitably follow. Douglas and Bell both expressed their gravest fears that Lincoln's election would result in secession, but the Lincoln people professed to believe no such thing.

Speculations were rife as to the probable outcome of the battle. Breckenridge could not hope to carry any of the free states, and the unanimous vote of the slave states could not elect him, hence his election was impossible. Douglas made a heroic fight, but he was not the first choice of the people either north or south of Mason and Dixon's line. The remaining contingents were the election of Lincoln or a failure to elect, which would throw the choosing of a President into the House of Representatives. Lincoln could hope for nothing from the House, as that body was not under the control of his party. The Democratic majority, however, was hopelessly divided, and had it devolved on them to choose a chief magistrate, there would doubtless have been a deadlock. But the Lincoln supporters were sanguine of carrying the election, and to do this it was necessary to secure the votes of two or more of the northern states which Fremont had failed to carry in the preceding national struggle, viz., New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, and California. Of those, Lincoln was morally sure of carrying Illinois; but two others, including Pennsylvania, or three without that state, were also needed.

Had the Douglas and Breckenridge parties united on a compromise platform at any time during the summer or early autumn, it might still have been possible to defeat Lincoln; but not so after the October elections in a few northern states. Of the October states, Pennsylvania had attracted most attention; and when the Lincoln party carried the state and elected Mr. Curtin governor by a majority above thirty-two thousand, the last hope of successful opposition

was crushed. The election of Lincoln was assured. Next to the election of their own candidate, the extreme proslavery party of the South desired the election of the Republican candidate; for the success of Douglas, they said, would leave their section in a still divided condition, while the success of Lincoln would unite the people of the South against the North and furnish them with an adequate pretext for seceding from the Union.[1]

The great presidential battle was fought on November 6, and some hours before midnight it was known through the country that Abraham Lincoln had been chosen by the people as Chief Magistrate. A few days later it was found that all the free states, except New Jersey, had cast their votes for the rail-splitter, and owing to a miscarriage of attempted fusion in New Jersey, he received four electoral votes from that state, giving him in all 180, while but 152 were needed to elect. The electoral college gave Breckenridge 72; Bell captured three of the slave states, — Virginia, Kentucky, and his own state, Tennessee, which gave him a total vote of 39. Douglas received a much higher popular vote than Breckenridge or Bell, but his electoral vote was ridiculously small. He carried Missouri by a narrow margin over Bell, receiving the nine votes of that state and but three besides — from New Jersey. Lincoln's popular vote was the largest of all, but he fell considerably short of receiving a majority.

The political revolution of 1860 was one of vast importance, its only parallel in our history being that of 1800, when Thomas Jefferson was elected over John Adams. The meaning of Lincoln's election was not difficult to understand: it announced to the world that the people of the North had decided that the institution of slavery should extend no farther on free soil.

[1] Greeley, Vol. I, p. 329.

CHAPTER II

Secession

To relate in a general way the story of the secession of the eleven slave states which brought on the Civil War would be to give the reader facts too familiar to be interesting, while a detailed account of the same would be too unimportant to be instructive. Let us therefore devote the larger part of this chapter to a brief account of the history of the secession idea, the spirit of disunion, from the beginning of the Federal Government down to its culmination in the sixties.

When men enter into any great or unusual political movement they must have a pretext, a ground on which to base their action, if they would command the respect of any considerable portion of their fellow-men. And the South based its right to secede from the Union, not simply on the right of revolution, which for adequate cause is inherent in all peoples, but on the ground of state sovereignty, usually misnamed state rights.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY IN THEORY

The doctrine of state sovereignty is older than the Constitution of the United Satates, and it was held by a large portion of the people for nearly a century — until the question was settled negatively by the Civil War. It is simply the theory that the colonies, on gaining their independence from England, became independent and sovereign states; that in ratifying the Constitution they voluntarily joined

the Union for mutual benefit, and that each retained to itself all the essence of sovereignty. This, of course, includes the right of secession. There is much documentary support to this theory in our early records. Many of the states at different times, on this or that pretext, declared themselves sovereign. The state constitutions formed during the Revolutionary period generally avowed this theory. In that of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, we find this, "The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent state." Similar statements are found in the early constitutions of New York, South Carolina, and of other states.

The Articles of Confederation declare that "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence." The treaty of peace of 1783 with England recognized, not the nation as a whole, but the several states as "free, sovereign and independent," giving the name of each.

All our early political writings, including the Federal Constitution, speak of the United States in the plural and seldom or never as a unit, a nation.

Hundreds of citations similar to the above might be adduced to show that the creed of state sovereignty was widely accepted. After the organization of the Federal Government these expressions became less common, but by no means did they die out. Nor were they confined to the South. As late as 1859 the Legislature of Wisconsin, nettled at a Supreme Court decision against the personal liberty law of that state, gave vent to its feeling in the following words, "The several states which formed that instrument (the Constitution), being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infractions." Throughout the long struggle between the national idea and state sovereignty, covering the period between 1789 and the Civil War,

there was scarcely a state in the Union that did not, at some time, declare its own sovereignty. This claim grew less serious in the North, during this period, while the South seized npon it as the most available weapon in battling for the rights of slavery.

On the other hand, the expressions against state sovereignty are equally positive and almost as numerous as those in favor of it. Let us cite a few from the earlier period.

The Declaration of Independence is an expression of the whole people through their representatives, and no notice is taken of the separate states. This was obviously the voice of a united people, a nation. Charles C. Pinckney, a signer and one of the foremost men of the time, said that, "The separate independence and sovereignty of the several states was never thought of by the patriots who framed the Declaration of Independence; the states are not even mentioned by name in any part of it." The Constitution begins, not with "We the states," nor with "We the people of the states," but with "We the people of the United States." This form of words embodies the national idea, and its adoption was strongly opposed by the state rights party in the convention. Many other examples might be given to show that the idea of nationality, of "the Union, one and inseparable," was not new in 1830 when Webster made his great speech in the Senate.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY IN PRACTICE

Again and again, during the first half-century of our national history, the states declared themselves sovereign. It was heard from the public platform, from state legislatures, and voiced in the state constitutions. If declarations and resolutions alone were sufficient to establish the sovereignty of the states, their separate independence from the first could

not be denied; but mere resolutions are of little weight when it comes to dealing with actual facts. As Alexander Johnson says, it is like the protests of a drowning man in the midst of a resistless current. His declarations that he will not drown can hadly save him without the added exertion of swimming.

In point of fact, the states are not and have never been sovereign. The nation may calmly ignore the multitude of resolutions as long as they are confined to theory; but any attempt to enforce them would speedily be crushed. No state has ever exercised the prerogatives of sovereignty. No state except Texas has ever been recognized by other nations as an independent power; no state has sent or received an ambassador, made a treaty, waged war, or concluded a peace.[1]

No state has been able to stand alone, though several have had the opportunity to try. At the outbreak of the Revolution the rupture was between England and a single colony — Massachusetts; and while that colony bravely faced the issue, she at the same time called frantically upon her sister colonies for help. When our Federal Government was organized in 1789, two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, failing to ratify the Constitution, remained out of the Union for a time; but in less than two years both had joined it, thus confessing their inability to stand alone. South Carolina was on the verge of secession in 1832, but, receiving no support from the other states, she soon settled back into her rightful place. Even in 1861 the seceding states did not attempt to remain separate and independent powers. They immediately banded together in a confederacy.

But the most conclusive and unanswerable argument against state sovereignty is, not only that the Federal Con-

[1] Lalor, *Cyclopedia of Political and Social Science*, Vol. III, p. 794.

stitution forbids the exercise of sovereign powers to the states, but especially the fact that the Constitution is subject to almost unlimited amendment without the consent of any particular state.[1] The people of a state may be unanimously opposed to any particular amendment, which may nevertheless be adopted and become binding on that state. When a nation as a whole has such power over its several parts, it is idle and absurd to attribute sovereignty to any of the parts.[2]

True sovereignty in the United States rests, not with the states, nor even with the Federal Government, but with the people of the nation. The national will, humanly speaking, is absolutely supreme. It is above all laws, congresses, courts, and constitutions, and can change them at its pleasure. The national will alone is sovereign. But the voice of the nation is seldom heard except through the ordinary channels of law. It is only some great emergency, as the adoption of the Constitution, or the Civil War, that brings forth an extra expression of the national will, and at such times the sound is indescribably vast.

EARLY THREATS OF DISUNION

Scarcely had our national Government been organized when threats of secession and disunion were first heard, and from that time to the Civil War not a decade passed in which the same cry was not renewed. From the Congressional halls, from the public platform, and through the press the threa tof dismembering the Union was uttered over and over again. Sometimes this disunion fever took the milder

[1] Labor *Cyclopedia of Political and Social Science*, Vol. III, p. 796.

[2] The reader should carefully distinguish between state sovereignty and state rights. No one denies the existence of the latter. It is necessary to our form of government; but for many years before the war the term was misused until it almost lost its true signification. See *Side Lights*, Vol. I, p. 336.

form of simple prediction that the Union could endure but a short time, at other times it would break forth in the wildest and most intemperate threats of secession from the disappointed and the aggrieved. Only a few of the more notable examples can here be given.

Some years after the Government had been organized, Elbridge Gerry, one of the framers of the Constitution and afterward Vice-President, pronounced the Republic a failure and openly predicted that it could not long continue. Scores of similar expressions were heard from members of Congress and other public men, but it was left for the Louisiana Purchase to call forth the first serious threats of disunion. The old New England Federalists sternly resisted the acquisition of the new territory. New England, they declared, will be rendered powerless when a dozen or more new states peopled with the wild men of Missouri shall be added to the Union. The Constitution was made only for the original territory of the United States; the act is therefore unconstitutional and void. In January, 1811, when the bill to admit Louisiana as a state into the Union was debated in Congress, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts spoke as follows: "It is my deliberate opinion, that, if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations; and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must."

The embargo of President Jefferson was another source from which the disunion spirit emanated. The embargo became so unpopular in commercial New England that the Federal leaders decided to break it, and to withdraw the New England states from the Union, if the Government attempted to use force. It was also broadly rumored that

unofficial negotiations had already begun toward securing British aid in breaking up the Union.

The War of 1812 furnished another occasion for a serious menace to hover over the Union, and again it was New England that was disaffected. When the first call to arms was issued, the governors of three New England states — Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, — defied the Government and refused to send soldiers. As the war progressed the Federalists continued their opposition, and, there is every reason to believe, connived with the enemy with a view of separating New England from the rest of the Union. This feeling had its culmination in the Hartford Convention of 1814; but peace was at hand, and all unpatriotic intrigues came to naught.

The decade following the Treaty of Ghent of 1814, which included the "era of good feeling," may be pronounced the first period of real prosperity in the history of the United States. For the first time the country was comparatively free from foreign annoyance; the stream of foreign immigration began its ceaseless flow to our shores; the eyes of the world could no longer be blinded to the fact that America was a rising giant and demanded their respect; and above all, the American people were filled with hopefulness for the future of the nation as never before since the closing years of the Revolution.

During this period there was no serious menace to the integrity of the Union. The reptile secession lay dormant for more than fifteen years, when it again showed its hideous form in the nullification movement of South Carolina. It is true that nullification and secession are not identical, but they are very nearly related, and the former necessarily leads to the latter. While nullification in South Carolina did not reach the acute stage of secession, it bears the distinction of

being the first movement in that direction which resulted in official overt acts.

All subsequent threats of secession are inseparably linked with the institution of slavery and they are invariably brought forth under the shield of state sovereignty. In the early forties when the Texas question absorbed public attention, the free-soil Whigs heartily opposed annexation because of their hostility to extending slave territory. And even so conservative a statesman as John Quincy Adams, in an address to his constituents, stated that annexation "would result in, and fully justify, a dissolution of the Union."

William Lloyd Garrison, at an anti-annexation meeting in Boston, moved that Massachusetts call a convention to declare the Union dissolved and to invite other states to join with her in a new union based on the principles of the Declaration of Independence. His motion was not carried, but it received vigorous applause.

It was from the South, however, that the most serious menaces were heard. Calhoun was for many years the great champion of the rights of slavery, and while he was sincerely devoted to the Union, he warned the northern people again and again that, unless they ceased to encroach upon the rights of the slaveholders, the inevitable result must be a dissolution of the Union. In his last great speech in the Senate, March, 1850, he pointed out how the political and social ties between the North and the South had been severed, how the leading religious bodies were being divided in twain, and how one cord after another that bound the sections together would snap until nothing was left, and a final separation must inevitably follow.

In January, 1849, a caucus of southern members of Congress met and issued an address declaring that the South

ought to secede rather than submit to the Wilmot Proviso.[1] Still greater was the menace to the Union in 1850, when California sought admission as a free state. Early in the year Henry Clay came forward with his compromise measures (known as the Omnibus Bill) one of which was to admit California as a free state. This measure was deeply offensive to the people of the South. They had fondly hoped that the princely domain won from Mexico in the recent war would eventually be carved into slave states, and now to have the fairest portion forever snatched from their grasp was enough, as they thought, to fire the southern heart to renewed threats of destroying the Union.[2] From all quarters came the threat — from the governors of the states down to the petty politicians — to secede from the Union, if California were not divided and the southern half made a slave state. The correspondence of the southern governors bristles with reference to muskets, field-pieces, and foundries. A convention of southern leaders met at Nashville, and by a two-thirds vote decided that any state had the right to secede from the Union. Not one little state, as in 1832, but almost the entire South seemed on the verge of taking the fatal step. Had secession been accomplished at this time on so large a scale as that of ten years later, what might have been the result? Jackson was in his grave, and Lincoln was unknown, nor was there any great political party pledged to the maintenance of our national integrity.

Had the secession of the sixties occurred ten years earlier, there is little doubt that our glorious Union must have perished. But milder counsels prevailed. The South at length decided to accept the Omnibus Bill as a finality — California should come in as a free state without further protest — on condition that the North accept in good faith the Fugitive

[1] Schouler, *The United States* Vol. V, p. 118. [2] *Side Lights*, Vol. I, Chap. 255.

Slave Law. Thus for a season was the inevitable rupture between the two sections postponed.

For several years, following this mid-century compromise, less was heard of disunion than during the preceding years; but in 1856 the leaders of the slave states openly avowed that the election of Fremont would result in secession. But the time had not yet come. The Providential Hand is plainly seen in averting the calamity. Fremont lacked the staying qualities necessary to put down the rising monster, nor was the new-born party he represented yet in condition to cope with so great an enemy. Fremont was defeated, and the dragon slumbered for four years more.

SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA

The great secession movement in the sixties was composed of the separate acts of the several seceding states without any concerted official action, but with the tacit understanding, it is true, that the seceded states would join in a southern Confederacy. As a type of the methods of secession and of the spirit that produced it, let us note with some detail the action of South Carolina, the state that began the movement which resulted in the greatest of civil wars.

A few days before the national election of November 6, 1860, Governor Gist of South Carolina convened the legislature in extra session for the purpose of choosing presidential electors.[1] In his message to that body the governor thus expresses himself: "I would earnestly recommend that in the event of Abraham Lincoln's election to the presidency, a convention of the people of this state be immediately called to consider and determine for themselves the mode and measure of redress. . . . . I am constrained to say that the

[1] South Carolina did not choose electors by popular vote until after the Civil War. The Constitution is silent as to the manner of choosing them.

only alternative left, in my judgment, is the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union."

In writing this, the governor but voiced the opinion of a very large majority of the people of his state.

For some weeks before the national election, when it was practically certain that the Republican candidates would win, the people of South Carolina rejoiced at the prospect; for, in that event, they claimed, their state would have ample cause for separating from the Union. On the night of the election, when the news that a majority of Lincoln electors had been chosen reached Charleston, the crowds broke forth in cheers. Next morning, the city was aglow with enthusiasm. Men meeting in the street grasped each other's hands and expressed their unbounded joy at the glad tidings.[1] The happy day had at last come when they had sufficient grounds for secession. The North had elected a "black Republican" President who openly declared slavery to be wrong. What other pretext could they desire? A palmetto and lone star flag was stretched across the street from the upper windows of the *Mercury* office, and was hailed with cheers and expressions of passionate attachment.[2] The people compared themselves to the people of Boston on the eve of the Revolution. Still greater was the exultation of the people when a few days later the legislature passed a bill by a unanimous vote providing for a convention of the people of South Carolina to be held December 7 for the purpose of considering the relations of the state with the northern states and the government of the United States.[3] The holding of great mass meetings, raising of liberty-poles, the singing of the *Marseillaise*, amid the booming of cannon, became the order of the day, and continued throughout the remaining autumn weeks.

[1] Greeley, Vol. I, p. 332.
[2] Charleston *Mercury*, November 8.
[3] Rhodes, Vol. III, p. 118.

These demonstrations were not the work of the rabble, but of the business men, the professional men, and the artisans — in short the solidest and best citizens of the state. The proceedings were usually opened with prayer, and a day was solemnly set apart by the legislature as a day of prayer. No one can doubt the sincerity of the people. They were honest in their belief that they had suffered from the aggressions of the North until they could endure it no longer.

The election of delegates to the secession convention took place on December 6. Without party division, the best men of the state were generally chosen. Many of them enjoyed a national reputation; five had been governors of the state and many had been members of Congress. The condition of the people reached fever heat by the time the convention met. "The excitement of the great masses of the people is great under a sense of deep wrongs," wrote the newly elected Governor Pickens on the day of the first session. Business was paralyzed in all its branches, it is true, but the people were jubilant over their prospects of independence, as they expressed it, and few believed that the Government at Washington would attempt to coerce a state and preserve the Union by force.

The convention, driven from Columbia by an epidemic of the smallpox, met in St. Andrew's Hall, Charleston. The demeanor of the delegates was grave; they realized that the movement they were about to make was one of vast significance. But none hesitated or took a backward step. The "Declaration of Independence," solemnly read to the assembly, began with these words: "We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain . . . that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of 'The United States of America' is hereby dissolved." Not an

hour passed after the reading of the declaration when the vote was taken, and the entire assembly, without a dissenting voice, voted in the affirmative. The scene in Charleston on that twentieth day of December, 1860, defies description. The session of the convention was held in secret, but the news of its action soon spread to the impatient multitudes that thronged the streets of the city, and the cheers that rent the air resembled those that had greeted the ringing of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia nearly a century before. Palmetto flags were hoisted in all parts of the city, all the church bells were rung, and the boom of cannon announced the glad tidings to the outlying sections. On the evening of that day the signing of the Ordinance of Secession by the members of the convention that had passed it took place in the largest hall in the city. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. After a reverent invocation for the blessing of the Almighty God on the action of the state, the Ordinance of Secession was solemnly read to the multitude and signed by the members of the convention amid wild and unrestrained enthusiasm.

South Carolina had thus crossed the Rubicon, had taken the first step toward forming, as the people believed, a southern republic, which should make slavery, the stone which the builders rejected, the chief corner stone. Little did the people realize at that moment what disasters would overtake their beloved state within the next few years. Little did they dream of the destruction of property, the desolation of their homes, the sacrifice of their loved ones, that their act would bring upon them. The world must condemn the cause in which they fought; but their devotion to that cause, their prowess on the battle-field, and their powers of endurance have marked them as true Americans, and must ever elicit the admiration of mankind.

CHAPTER III

Great Leaders in Congress during the War

There is a tradition among the Indians that the ancestors from which they sprung were a race of giants, of beings far superior to themselves. This tendency to idealize the heroes of the past is not confined to the red race. We are all to some extent affected by the enchantment lent by distance; we look to a past age for our models of heroism and of intellectual superiority. Our own country is still in its youth, and yet the times of its beginning seem like ancient times, and the statesmen and heroes of that day have been idealized in popular fancy until they have almost become demigods. Few realize that in later times, even in our own day, there may be found, here and there, a public man of patriotism as pure, and ability as great, as those of our heroic period.

It is a curious fact that during the Revolutionary period there was but one man whose military record brought him great and enduring fame, while numerous are the great names from the field of legislation that are placed in the highest column of American celebrities. On the other hand, the Civil War brought out several great military leaders, but only one from civil life whose achievements brought him immortal renown.[1]

In our heaping honors on the great war President and the leading commanders in the field, we are apt to forget to give

[1] Washington stands without a second as the military leader of the Revolution. Greene and Lafayette, who come next, must be classed far below him. But Franklin, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and John and Samuel Adams are all among the first-rank heroes in the popular mind. The Civil War gave us Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Farragut, closely seconded by Meade and

due honor to the memory of those secondary lights who shaped the work of Congress during that memorable period. To a notice of a few of these this chapter will be devoted. But first let us give a passing glance at a few of the southern leaders.

LEADING SPIRITS OF THE SOUTH

Among the leading statesmen who resigned their seats in Congress to cast their lot with the South, Jefferson Davis stands foremost. Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, the great opposing chieftains during the war, were born in the same state, but a year apart. Both left their native state in early life, the one drifting northward and absorbing the free soil sentiments of his adopted section until it became the guiding principle of his life; the other, migrating in the opposite direction, made his home in Mississippi, espoused the cause of the slaveholder, and rose in public life until he became the recognized leader of the far-famed aristocracy of the South. What might have been the effect on our history had the direction of the migrating of these two been reversed, we can only conjecture. Certain it is that environment has much to do in shaping a man's course and molding his destiny.

Jefferson Davis was graduated at West Point at the age of twenty. He saw service in the Black Hawk War and was sent to Congress from Mississippi in 1845. On making his first speech in the House the venerable John Quincy Adams is said to have exclaimed, "That young man will yet make his mark in American history." Davis resigned his seat in Congress and became a colonel in the Mexican War, where

Thomas, and including the other side, Lee and Jackson. But outside the battle-field Lincoln stands grandly alone. Other great names we have: there were Seward, Sumner, Chase, Fessenden, Wade, and Stevens; but most of them had reached their acme of fame before the war, and none of the galaxy are classed in popular fancy as stars of the first magnitude.

he served under his father-in-law, Zachary Taylor, and showed himself a brave soldier at Monterey and Buena Vista. This experience won for him an election to the United States Senate, in which he served continuously to the Civil War, with the exception of the four years he spent as Secretary of War in the cabinet of Franklin Pierce.

On the death of the great Calhoun, who had for many years shaped at his will the political conscience of the South, Davis became his successor and heir to his political fortunes; but it must be added that Davis never won the southern heart as Calhoun had done. His career, nevertheless, was a notable one and his success unbroken (save a defeat for the governorship of his state) until the Civil War. When the seceding states joined together in a confederation, Davis was easily chosen to preside at the helm of the newly launched vessel. The choice seemed to be a happy one, for he was thoroughly trained both in military affairs and in national politics. But the duties of the great office were too much for him; he had reached the limit of his capacity. He was no match in ability for the great war President of the North. The southern writers attribute much of the ill fortune of the South to the want of capacity in President Davis. It is certain that he made many blunders, the most disastrous, perhaps, being his supplanting the Fabian-like Johnston with the impetuous Hood to oppose Sherman before Atlanta.

Jefferson Davis was at heart a sincere man. He was a man of high moral and religious principles. He represented the radical element of the slavocracy, but there is every reason to believe that his motives were honest. When he took leave of the United States Senate in January, 1861, he uttered no word of bravado nor idle boast. He deplored the situation from the depth of his soul, and his audience was affected to tears by the "plaintive music of his voice, the sincerity of his

manner, and the pathos of his words."[1] That night he wrestled with God in prayer for peace. Had the great rebellion succeeded, the name of Jefferson Davis would stand among the first in history.

Another conspicuous figure of the South was Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy. Stephens was the grandson of a captain in the Revolution who had also served in the French and Indian War. His people moved from Pennsylvania to Georgia soon after the Revolution, and here Alexander was born in the first year of our second war with England. As a boy he was sickly, thoughtful, solitary, spending his youth in various schools, in each of which he took the highest rank in his class. As a man he was frail of body, low of stature, and never weighed a hundred pounds. Entering Congress as a Whig in 1843, he served until 1859, when he resigned, saying that he "saw that there was bound to be a smash-up on the road, and resolved to jump off at the first station."

He was a man of remarkable physical courage. On one occasion when in a fight with a Georgia judge he was pinned to the ground and terribly slashed with a knife. His antagonist then raised the knife, and shouted, "If you don't retract I'll cut your throat." "Never! cut!" answered Stephens, defiantly, and he grasped the descending blade, cutting his hand to the bone.

Unlike Jefferson Davis, Stephens represented the conservative element of the South. He was a true friend of slavery but opposed secession with all his strength. When the Georgia convention met for the purpose of passing a secession ordinance, he made a most courageous stand for the Union, but, being overruled, he conscientiously went with his state and cast his lot with the South.

[1] Rhodes, Vol. III, p. 272.

After being chosen Vice President of the Confederate States, he made a great speech at Savannah, in which he sounded the keynote of the doctrine of the slave power. With great force he argued that the negro race is by nature inferior to the white race, and its normal condition that of servitude; that the Creator "has, for His own purpose, made one race to differ from another, as He has made one star to differ from another in glory; . . . that the Confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with God's laws; that the stone which was rejected by the first builders is become the chief stone of the corner in the new edifice."

Stephens was faithful to the southern cause during the war, but when he saw that the South was playing a losing game he was one of the first to seek honestly for peace, and after the war was over he again displayed his high moral courage by defending the rights of the black man. He became thoroughly reconciled to the results of the war, and spent several years of his old age as a member of the Congress of the reconstructed Union.

One of the ablest and most vehement of the leaders for secession was Robert Toombs of Georgia. Mr. Toombs had been a Whig and a coworker with Stephens for many years, and the two had dealt a stunning blow to their party in refusing to support Scott for President in 1852. Toombs differed from Stephens, however, in being far more extreme and uncompromising. He was radical, impatient, violent. What William Lloyd Garrison was to the cause of abolition, Robert Toombs was to the cause of secession. He denounced all opposition in unmeasured terms. He pronounced Abraham Lincoln "an enemy of the human race, deserving the execration of all mankind."[1] Toombs it was who pronounced this Government a slavery government, as slavery was writ-

[1] Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. I, p. 247.

ten on its heart, the Constitution. It was Toombs who prophesied that slavery would overspread the whole land, and that he would live to call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill monument.

As a debater in Congress he was a veritable Boanerges. In this respect he may be compared with John Adams during the Revolutionary period. During the war Toombs served at different times in the Confederate Congress, President Davis's cabinet, and as a commander in the field. The war over, he, like Davis, was one of the few southern leaders who declined to accept a pardon and refused to become a citizen of the reconstructed Union.

Another of the "fire-eaters" of the South was Judah P. Benjamin, United States senator from Louisiana. Born in the West Indies, of Hebrew parents, he came to the United States, was educated at Yale, and made his home in Louisiana, where he became the most learned lawyer in the state. In his farewell address to the Senate he made an ingenious but fallacious argument to show that Louisiana, notwithstanding the fact that the territory had been ceded and retroceded by France and Spain, and finally purchased by the United States, still retained all the essentials of sovereignty and had a right to secede from the Union. Benjamin served the Confederacy with much ability during its brief career, and when it collapsed he made his escape to England, where he afterward resided. In England he became a queen's counsel and rose to be one of the leading lawyers in the kingdom.

One of the most brilliant of the southern chieftains was John C. Breckenridge, Vice President during the four years preceding the war, and candidate of the ultra-slaveholders for the presidency in 1860. Breckenridge was a grandson of a cabinet officer of Thomas Jefferson. He belonged to one

of the most cultured families of the South, and became the natural successor in public esteem in Kentucky to the great Henry Clay. When Kentucky refused to secede and practically decided for the Union, Breckenridge sacrificed his great popularity and went with the South, which he served with marked ability on the battle-field and in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis. John C. Breckenridge was a brilliant orator, most attractive in personal appearance and an all-round, high-bred gentleman. It was generally believed that he blighted and sacrificed an illustrious career by casting his fortunes with the South.

Other noted statesmen of the South were William L. Yancey, of Alabama, who belonged to the radical wing and who did so much to "fire the southern heart;" Robert B. Rhett, also of the extreme class of secessionists; Isham G. Harris, Governor of Tennessee at the outbreak of the war, served the cause of slavery for four years with his whole heart, but afterward learned to love the old Union and spent twenty years of his later life in the United States Senate; and Henry A. Wise, who had done more to destroy the Know-Nothing party than any other man, and who, as Governor of Virginia, conducted the execution of John Brown. These and many other characters must be brought into review by the student who would make himself acquainted with the war period. We turn now to a brief notice of a few of the northern legislators.

SUMNER AND FESSENDEN

Charles Sumner was on the whole the greatest figure in Congress during the war. Sprung from the sternest New England stock, he displayed the strongest traits of the Puritan character. As a youth Charles Sumner was very studious and ambitious; he seemed to feel that he was predestined to

fill some great position and to labor in some great cause. His aim in early life was to become a jurist and the one great man whom he admired and imitated above all others was Joseph Story.[1] Sumner's learning was very extensive, rather broad than profound. A three years' sojourn in Europe, where he moved in the highest social circles, rounded out his education and made of him a man of the world. He returned from Europe in 1845, and soon afterward attracted wide attention through a Fourth of July oration. His age was now thirty-four, and from this time his fame extended in ever widening circles.

In 1847 Sumner openly espoused the cause of the Free Soil party, and by so doing he incurred the displeasure of the élite of Boston. The doors of the fashionable, in whose homes he had been a familiar figure, were now closed in his face. This he felt keenly, for he was a born aristocrat, but on no condition did he permit his principles to be disturbed by public disapproval.

The opening of a great career came to Sumner in 1851, when the Free Soilers and Democrats joined hands and elected him to the United States Senate — without his having served the usual apprenticeship in the lower House. Within the same year he made an antislavery speech, his maiden speech in the Senate, and a great effort it was. His keynote was "Freedom is national, slavery sectional." The speech marked an epoch in the great battle against slavery, and henceforth Sumner was looked upon as the prophet of freedom. By this speech he won a national fame which never waned to the end of his life. From this day onward he stood shoulder to shoulder with Seward, Chase, Hale, and Wade, and his light was never dimmed by contact with theirs.

[1] Dawes, *Charles Sumner*, p. 13.

Charles Sumner was not a ready debater; he studied his subject with great care, wrote out his speeches in full, and committed or read them. Sumner was never a party leader; he was ill adapted to the tedious work of law-making, and took little part in the routine work of the Senate. He was a student of great questions, an idealist, a theorist, and his theories were not always practical. He was not able to read the popular mind; he stood aloof from the common crowd, and, like Webster, won the admiration rather than the love of the people. The great subject nearest his heart for many years was the freeing of the slaves, and he did more than any other man to make the Republican party an antislavery party.

In debate Sumner was dogmatic and opinionated, severe and caustic with an opponent, and scathing in his denunciations. He was so absorbed in his own views that he could not tolerate an adverse opinion, nor give an opponent credit for honestly differing with him. His greatest defect was his egotism, which was based on his lifelong belief that he was no ordinary person, but was ordained to a great career. It was not infrequent that when some admirer would introduce himself to Sumner, the latter would ask, "What have you ever done to merit notice from me?"

In 1856, after Sumner had made his great speech on "The Crime against Kansas," in which he bitterly denounced Senator Butler of South Carolina, he was viciously assaulted in the senate-chamber by Preston Brooks, a nephew of Mr. Butler and member of the lower House. So great were Mr. Sumner's injuries that four years passed before he regained his normal health. His later years were embittered in various ways. His twin sister had died in early life, and all his people had been called away, one by one, until he was left without immediate relatives. Soon after his assault by Brooks,

one of his favorite brothers, whose house was to Charles a second home, perished, with all his family, by shipwreck. To these misfortunes must be added a very unhappy marriage, contracted long after he passed middle age, and finally his unfortunate quarrel with President Grant during the closing years of his life.

Charles Sumner was a great constitutional lawyer, a profound student of books but not of men, an orator, and a patriot of the highest motives; but he cannot be placed in the first rank as a statesman.

Another great son of New England whose services in the Senate during the war became conspicuous was William Pitt Fessenden. During part of his senatorial service he had two brothers in the House — the only instance in our history in which three brothers served in Congress at the same time.[1] Fessenden was born among the hills of New Hampshire; he received a thorough education, chose the legal profession, settled in Portland, Maine, at the age of twenty-three, and in a few years was the acknowledged leader of the Maine bar. By the time he reached middle age he had no superior as a lawyer in the United States. In 1843, after several years' service in the legislature of his adopted state, he was elected to the lower House of Congress; ten years later he became a member of the United States Senate, where he at once took his place at the forefront among the leaders of that body. Fessenden was a man of the purest character and looked with contempt upon the demagogue; he was possessed of unlimited courage and was saturated with antislavery doctrine; his attitude toward the public was rather cold and distant, but in spite of this, he had made a most favorable impression upon the country and had won national fame some years before the war.

[1] Blaine, Vol. I, p. 316.

But, unlike Sumner, Fessenden was always considerate of the rights, and charitable in judging the motives, of an opponent. He was a ready debater. He spoke without apparent effort, and his speeches are models of correct English, clearness, and accurate reasoning. His speech against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill must be classed among the best that were brought out by that famous legislation. In the years following Fessenden drew the attention of the entire country by his speeches on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, the Dred Scott Decision, and the Lecompton Constitution. He was one of the chief founders of the Republican party, and to the end of his life stood among the first in its councils: but he never wanted courage to criticize its acts with the utmost candor when his judgment so dictated.

In 1864, when Secretary Chase resigned from the Treasury Fessenden became his successor, but resigned from the Treasury the following year, and was, for a third time, elected to the United States Senate.

The one act by which Fessenden will be longest remembered in American history is the position he took at the trial of President Johnson. When this closing tragedy of the great drama of the Civil War was attracting the attention of the world; when the House had impeached the President with indecent haste, and the Republican party was clamoring for his conviction by the Senate, it was Fessenden who, amid the execrations of his party and with a moral courage that approaches the sublime, led the little band of Republicans who voted for acquittal. It is now agreed by all parties that the conviction and deposing of President Johnson on the charges brought against him would have been a national calamity, and the one man to whom, above all others, the nation owes the happy result is William Pitt Fessenden.

OTHER SENATORIAL LIGHTS

We must not omit from this list of notables the famous senator from Ohio, the man who would have become President of the United States had Andrew Johnson been convicted by the Senate in 1868 — Benjamin Franklin Wade. He was born in Massachusetts in 1800, and at the age of twenty-one migrated to Ohio, where he became a true pioneer, clearing away the forest, working as a common laborer, and teaching school. He was late in acquiring his education, which, however, was never very extensive. He entered the Senate the same year with Sumner, 1851, and the two were colaborers in the same cause in that body for eighteen years. As a radical, uncompromising enemy of slavery, Wade even surpassed Sumner.

For vigorous, dashing energy and unflinching courage, Benjamin Wade may be compared to General Andrew Jackson. When the battle of Bull Run resulted in the rout of the Union soldiers, Senator Wade, who had driven out to witness an exhibition of American valor, was so exasperated at their retreat that he and a few friends who had accompanied him leaped from their carriage, and with drawn revolvers kept back the rushing tide of fugitives for a quarter of an hour!

Senator Wade vehemently opposed the reconstruction policy of President Lincoln, and, in the summer of 1864, in conjunction with Henry Winter Davis, wrote a scathing denunciation of the President's course in opposing the will of Congress on that important subject. Benjamin Wade, with all his shortcomings, must be classed among the ablest, the bravest, and the purest defenders of the national cause during the dark days of the Civil War.

Other prominent figures in the Senate deserve far more

notice than our limited space will admit. There was Jacob Collamer of Vermont, who had been justice of the supreme court of his state and had been Postmaster General in the cabinet of the soldier-president, Zachary Taylor. His forty years of public life before the war gave him the wisdom that comes with long experience, and no man in the Senate excelled him in wise, conservative judgment, nor was there any whose counsels commanded a profounder respect.

Zachariah Chandler was one of the many brilliant men of New England birth who had sought a home in the growing West. He had made Michigan his home, and after a business career that brought him wealth, he entered the field of politics. As his adopted state changed its political complexion during the turmoil preceding the war, Chandler inherited the mantle worn so many years by that Democratic leader whose name had stood first in Michigan since the War of 1812 — General Lewis Cass. Chandler was ever a friend to the slave, and had been interested in the underground railroad. As a member of the Senate he was intolerant and radical, but always patriotic and incorruptible.

Edward Baker was the brilliant senator from Oregon who gave his life to the cause of the Union ere the first year of the war had closed. Born in England, he came to the United States in early life, first made his home in Philadelphia, then in Illinois, where he rose to distinction, became the life-long friend of Lincoln, served in the Mexican War, and soon after made his home on the Pacific Coast, whence he returned East as a United States senator in 1861. Baker was handsome, winning in manners, irresistibly charming as an orator,[1] and filled with an uncompromising love of his adopted country. His appearance on the floor of the Senate in full uniform when he delivered one of the most eloquent

[1] Blaine, Vol. I, p. 321.

speeches heard by that body during the war period left a glowing picture in the minds of all; but a few days later the country was shocked by his tragic end. While leading his forces with reckless bravery at the fateful Ball's Bluff, a bullet pierced his brain, and the brilliant soldier-senator fell dead upon the field of glory.

Others can only be mentioned: Henry Wilson, the lifelong foe of the slave power, who afterward became Vice President of the United States; David Wilmot, who had given his name to the famous proviso of the preceding period; Lyman Trumbull, the learned lawyer from Illinois who ranked high among the statesmen that made the Prairie State famous during antebellum days; and John Sherman, lately transferred from the House, still in his youth, and destined yet to spend more than a third of a century in the political arena and to make a great name in the Senate and the cabinet.

LEADERS IN THE HOUSE

The most striking personage in the lower House of Congress during the war period was "The Great Commoner," Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. Born in Vermont eight years before the close of the eighteenth century, he had long passed middle life when the Civil War began. After completing his education at Dartmouth, he made his home in the Keystone State, where for nearly half a century he was a most conspicuous figure.

Stevens first attracted national attention as a leader of the Anti-Masons in the early thirties; in 1835 he won a remarkable victory in the Pennsylvania legislature in a great speech defending the common school system of that state; he attracted national attention as an opponent of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850; he held the reins in the lower House during the war as no other man could; but the most notable

work of his life was the part he took in reconstruction, which will be treated in a later chapter.

As Sumner and Wade represented the radical antislavery element in the Senate, Stevens represented it in the House. The one great passion of his life was to destroy the slave power and to elevate the black man. In his zeal he even reminds us of the misguided John Brown; he seemed to love the African race better than his own race, and before his death he directed that his body be laid to rest in a private cemetery because the public cemeteries had been limited in their charters to the white race. Stevens was extremely severe in denunciation, radical, and intolerant. He belonged to that class in the North whose attitude toward the South was characterized by bitter personal feeling — who could not forgive a conquered and prostrate foe, but hastened to place the grinding heel upon his neck.

There was no more interesting figure in the House at the time we are treating than the venerable John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. Born in the year of the framing of the Constitution, he had passed the allotted threescore years and ten, and indeed was looked upon as a patriarch among his fellows, a representative of a former generation. Crittenden had served in the War in 1812, and had entered the Senate on the last day of the administration of James Madison. Six times in all he was elected to the Senate, usually, however, serving less than a full term. In the meantime he had graced the cabinets of Harrison and Fillmore; and now in the December of life he was elected to the lower House of Congress, where, despite his weight of years, he was one of the most active members.

Crittenden had watched with painful interest the long years of increasing strife between the North and the South, and now, when the open rupture threatened the life of the

Republic that he had loved and served so long, he could not hesitate, though from a slave state, to throw the powerful weight of his influence in the balance of the North. It was John J. Crittenden, above all men, that prevented the secession of Kentucky in 1861. The most conspicuous work of his congressional career was, like that of David Wilmot, the bringing forward of a measure that did not become law — the Crittenden Compromise. The aged Kentuckian was greatly devoted to the restoration of the Union, but his eyes were permitted only to behold afar the land of promise when he was called, in 1863, to join the silent majority.

Justin S. Morrill, who died in 1898 after the longest continuous service in the Senate in American history, was a member of the House during the war, and was the author of the famous Morrill Tariff, which became a law in the closing days of Buchanan's administration.

During the whole or part of the war period we find in the House many men who were then, or afterward became, famous in our National Legislature. From Illinois we have John A. McClernand and John A. Logan, afterward noted generals in the army, and Owen Lovejoy, brother of the famous editor who had been killed by a proslavery mob in 1837. From Indiana came William S. Holman, for many years known as the "Great Objector" to extravagant use of public money; Schuyler Colfax, afterward Vice President; George W. Julian, Free Soil candidate for Vice President in 1852, and later one of the founders of the Republican party, and Daniel W. Voorhees whose after senatorial career won him national fame. In the New York delegation we find the brilliant and dashing Roscoe Conkling; William A. Wheeler, afterward Vice President of the United States, and E. G. Spaulding, the author of the system of national banks. From Massachusetts came George S. Boutwell, the able manager

of President Johnson's impeachment, United States senator and Secretary of the Treasury under Grant, and the notorious Oakes Ames of Credit Mobilier fame. From Maine, the state that has furnished so many great men in the last quarter century, came the only man in the postwar period who can be classed as a party leader with Jefferson, Jackson, and Clay — James G. Blaine. Many other states sent able men to Congress during the war, the most noted being Ohio. From this state we find George H. Pendleton; James M. Ashley, the mover of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution; Samuel S. Cox, who as a wit had no equal in Congress since the days of John Randolph; Clement L. Vallandigham, whose somewhat erratic career brought him at least the credit of unlimited courage; and Robert C. Schenck, whose powers of leadership in the House threatened for a time the prestige of "The Great Commoner" from Pennsylvania.

It was at this time that Ohio began that remarkable career in national politics which no other state can parallel in our history, except Virginia.[1]

[1] It is a notable fact that the three most famous Generals of the Civil War were natives of Ohio — Grant, Sherman, Sheridan. Of the Presidents since the war, five, Hayes, Garfield, McKinley, Taft, and Harding, were born in and elected from Ohio, while two others, Grant and Harrison, were natives of Ohio. Vice President Hendricks was born in Ohio; Cleveland's running-mate in 1888, Allen G. Thurman, was an Ohioan; Harrison's running-mate in 1892, Whitelaw Reid, was a native of the same state. The record is a very remarkable one and may not be duplicated by any state for centuries to come. It may be added that the two ablest Indian warriors ever known to the white race were both born on Ohio soil—Pontiac and Tecumseh.

CHAPTER IV

Events Leading up to the Civil War

CAUSE OF THE WAR

The cause of the great Civil War in America was slavery. Some writers have endeavored to show that there were various causes that brought about that great conflict; but they may all be condensed into one great, sweeping cause of causes — slavery. The immediate occasion of the opening of hostilities was, as every one knows, secession; the war was essentially a war for the Union in its early stages, a war against secession; but secession was the outgrowth of the long strife engendered by slavery. The election of Lincoln precipitated secession, it is true; but why was Lincoln objectionable to the South? Because of his views and the views of his party on the extension of slavery. The fierce struggle for Kansas hastened the great conflict; but that was a struggle for and against slavery; it was a child of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was a slavery measure. The Dred Scott Decision did much to widen the breach between the North and the South, but there would have been no Dred Scott Decision without slavery.

It is true that the civilization and culture of the South were quite unlike those of the North, that there was much prejudice on each side, and that the two sections had grown apart for many years; but the underlying cause of this difference was that slavery existed in the one section and not in the other. It is a fact that the people of the South

loved their respective states better than they loved the Union; they honestly believed in state sovereignty, miscalled state rights, and the conviction that they were defending their sovereign states from invasion did much to animate the common soldier in battle. But those who looked beneath the surface could not fail to see that the doctrine of state sovereignty was not more accepted in the South than in the North during the first decades of the Government's existence, that it had been developed and nurtured by the South only as an effective weapon with which to fight the battles of slavery. The climate and soil of the South conduce to establish a different form of industry from that of the North, and in some degree they affect the general status and civilization of the people; but this difference could in no way engender a mortal strife between the two sections. Why should the southern planter be less loyal to the Union which his fathers had aided in establishing than the Massachusetts manufacturer or the Ohio farmer? It was not so at the beginning of the century; it is not so to-day, since the apple of discord has been removed. In point of fact, there was but one basal cause of the long years of strife between the great sections of our country, resulting in the Civil War, and that was slavery.

Slavery was a political question and it was a moral question. The slaveholders sought to extend their peculiar institution so as to maintain their political power and thus prevent unfriendly legislation in Congress. But as free labor and slave labor could not flourish in the same locality, the free states sought to restrict slavery, or at least to prevent its extension. Hence arose a strife in the National Legislature in the first quarter of the century, and it increased in violence as the years passed.

The question was also a moral one. There was a large

and increasing number of people in the North who believed slavery to be morally wrong. Hence arose the Abolitionists, the Lundys, the Lovejoys, the Garrisons, the John Browns. It is difficult to say which of these two forces was the stronger, the moral or the political. Certain it is that the two working together brought about the estrangement of the two great sections of the country, resulting finally in the great Civil War.

BEGINNING OF THE LONG STRIFE

The friction between the North and the South on account of slavery was almost constant for forty years before the war. At times the agitation subsided, and the subject seemed to slumber for a few years, when it would burst forth again with increased violence. Each of these jostlings of the two great forces left its mark, each made the wound a little deeper, each played its part in bringing on the final crisis.

The most serious of these early conflicts was that of 1820, resulting in the Missouri Compromise. After a severe struggle in Congress, covering nearly two years and extending to every part of the country, the question was settled. The compromise line was conceded by the South to appease the North and to win northern votes; but the apparent victory rested with the South in that Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state.

Next came the Indian wars in the South during the thirties. The proximity of the red man was a constant menace to the peaceful possession of the black man by the slaveholder. The slaveholder, therefore, demanded of the Federal Government that he be protected in the quiet possession of his human property, whatever the cost might be. The Government, heedful of its master's voice, waged war on the Indian, exterminating some tribes, moving others bodily and without provocation to the untrodden wilderness

beyond the Mississippi, keeping up the wars for seven or eight years, and spending $30,000,000 — all for the slaveholder. Behold another victory for the South!

Then came the Texas question. The South was hungry for Texas. What a fine extension of slave territory it would make! The slaveholder thereupon demanded that Texas be admitted into the Union. The North objected, at first feebly, then more vigorously, but still too feebly to withstand the impetuous South, and Texas was admitted as a slave state.

THE MEXICAN WAR AND THE OMNIBUS BILL

Hard upon this follows the Mexican War, waged, not because of a boundary dispute, as the world was made to believe, but because Ahab coveted Naboth's vineyard— because the slaveholder cast his eyes upon the vast, fertile Southwest, and desired it for his own. The Government again heeded his call to arms, and Mexico was dismembered, and the California country came into the possession of the United States.

Another victory for the South? Apparently, but not quite. It happened that California was settled by the people and not by the politicians, and consequently it became a free, and not a slave, state. Had the matter been decided at Washington, it would have been otherwise, as foreshadowed by the fate of the Wilmot Proviso.

The Omnibus Bill, or Compromise Measures of 1850, next claimed the country's attention. This did not precipitate a contest between the sections, but it involved the question in dispute, and one of its provisions became one of the most irritating that disturbed a long-suffering public during those troublous times. The Omnibus Bill was, on the whole, favorable to the South. It is true California was admitted

as a free state; but in admitting it Congress only ratified what the people had already done. The prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia is also regarded as a northern victory; but it was little more than a sop thrown by the slave power to the clamorous Abolitionists. Of the three remaining items, one, the erection of Utah and New Mexico into territories without mention of slavery, may be considered neutral, while the other two, the payment by the Government of $10,000,000 to Texas for her claims on New Mexico, and the Fugitive Slave Law, are distinctively southern measures. The latter, indeed, became the most prominent feature of this famous mid-century legislation and practically gave it its character.[1] As a whole, therefore, the Omnibus Bill was favorable to the South.

Far more one-sided, however, was the great measure that followed a few years later — the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Despite the fact that it was born in the brain of a northern senator, it was a slave measure pure and simple, and was but the normal product of a soil that had long been under the tillage of the slavocracy.

A little later the Dred Scott Decision gave the northern people another shock, and led them to believe that the judiciary was under the same hypnotic influence as the other two branches of the Government.

One more of these antebellum skirmishes and our list is completed — the fight for the possession of Kansas. The administration did all in its power to make Kansas a slave state, but there were forces at work in Kansas which the administration could not control, and the ultimate outcome was a defeat of the slave power.

It will be noticed by the foregoing that in every encounter except two between the forces of freedom and of slavery the

[1] See chapter on "The Underground Railroad," *Side Lights*, Vol. I.

latter bore away the victor's palm. And it is a remarkable fact that in deciding these two, the admission of California and the struggle for Kansas, and in these only, the *people* had an opportunity to render the ultimate verdict. In view of these facts two conclusions are forced upon anyone who looks the facts squarely in the face: first, that for a generation before the war the most potent voice in the Government as such was the voice of the slaveholder; second, that the slaveholder, with all his power over the politicians, with all the prestige of party machinery, never succeeded in winning and controlling the great body of the people. Thus we have the anomalous condition of a government being for many years out of harmony with the people by whose authority it existed, on the greatest public question of the time.

It might be asked, Why did the people, if they opposed the domination of the slaveholder, wait so many years before rebuking him at the polls? Be it remembered that the specific causes of these encounters were sectional and not partisan questions; and in no way could the people rebuke the Government through the elections except by reorganizing parties on sectional lines, and that is what they actually did in the organizing of the Republican party. But even before this party was born, the people rebuked the Government for truckling to the slave power when opportunity offered. Let us examine.

In 1820 there was no way in which the voters could express their disapproval of the decision of Congress (as both contestants belonged to the same party), except to form a new party, and even this could not have reversed the decision, for Missouri had already been admitted as a slave state.

Again, when the Texas question came up for decision, the voter who had strong convictions against annexation scarcely knew what to do, for both political parties stood on similar

ground. The Democratic platform pronounced in favor of admitting Texas in 1844, while the Whig party, some months later, actually brought about annexation. It is true that the Tyler administration, which admitted Texas, was not strictly a Whig administration, though Tyler had been elected by that party, nor is it fair to the party to regard annexation as a purely Whig measure. Yet it is true that many of the Whigs favored annexation, and even Clay in his famous Alabama letter expressed his willingness to see Texas admitted. Neither party, therefore, as a party, was positively opposed to extending slave territory by adding this new slave state. The voter who did oppose such extension found himself out of harmony with both the great political parties.

But note what follows. The Government, through the Democratic party, waged the Mexican War, the real object of which was to extend slave territory; but the *people* reversed the decision and made California a free state; and more, they defeated that party in the ensuing presidential election. Again, the Whig party fathered the Omnibus Bill; and the *people*, at the next national election, gave the party such a blow that it fell to rise no more. Still again, the Government, through the Democratic party, enacted the Kansas-Nebraska Law. The people were offended, and there being no rival party through which they could chasten the offending one, they formed a new party, and the political revolution of 1860 was the result.

The people had therefore registered their disapproval of the slaveholder's rule on various occasions; they had defeated each political party in turn for yielding to it; and finally, unable to control either party, they organized a new one whose very corner stone was non-extension of slave territory. This reorganization of party lines had its root, not in

high political circles, but in the conscience of the nation. Calhoun was right when he claimed that, if the moral consciousness of a majority of the people opposed slavery, slavery must fall. And such was beyond a doubt the condition of the country during the years just preceding the war.

It must be noticed, however, that the newly formed party did not, during the first years of its existence, command a majority of the electors, and even in 1860 the election of Lincoln would have been doubtful but for the fatal split in the Democratic party. This fact seems to indicate that, after all, the majority of the people were not with the new movement. But this is not difficult to explain: first, there were thousands of voters who were in sympathy with the non-extension sentiment, but their party allegiance was so deep-seated, their interest in the history and achievements of their party was so great, that it was not an easy matter to break away from it; second, there were other thousands who were willing to rebuke the slaveholder by an adverse vote now and then, but they were too timid to openly provoke him to renewed violence and threats of destroying the Union.

It may often be a subject of wonder that the slaveholder held such sway in national politics for so long a time. Why were there so many "Northern men with Southern principles"? Because the statesmen of the South were not only better schooled in politics than their brothers from the North, but because they were united on the one great subject nearest their heart, and they were exacting and unyielding in the demands upon those who sought their support for high position. For many years before the war no man could hope to be elected President who had shown an unfriendly spirit at any time in his career toward the interests of slavery. Such a one would find himself opposed by a united South, and the North was not sufficiently united to successfully

compete with it. The result was that northern politicians were not only careful not to oppose the slave owner, but were ready to lend him a helping hand when called upon to do so. When, therefore, the slaveholder desired to enact some special law for his own benefit, he found little difficulty in securing northern support.

THE SLAVEHOLDER'S BLUNDER

But the Southerner made some serious blunders, not the least of which was his continuous thrusting of the despised subject on the northern conscience. The people of the North, with the exception of the few Abolitionists, might have allowed the matter to rest *in statu quo* for indefinite years; but the southerner refused to let it alone. Not content with adding Missouri and Arkansas and Florida and Texas to his domain, he forced on the country the Fugitive Slave Law, which did more to arouse the moral sentiment of the North than the arguments of the Abolitionists had done in many years.[1] The people of the free states were thus led, or rather forced, to look more deeply into the subject, and it was only the repulsive features of slavery that they saw.

The relation between the master and slave was, in the great majority of cases, a pleasant and happy relation; but this feature the Northerner did not see; he saw only the fugitive and heard his tale of woe; again, he saw the fleeing black man captured and hustled back under the lash to the land of bondage. The Fugitive Slave Law forced him to see these things, and it quickened his conscience against the institution of slavery itself as nothing else could have done. The slaveholder blamed the North for agitating the subject; but it is certainly true that he caused much of the agitation by forcing such enactments as this odious law.

[1] Channing, *Student's History*, p. 462.

The slaveholder knew that modern civilization had condemned slavery. Why, then, did he not remain as quiet and unobserved as possible? His aim seemed to be to force the North to acknowledge that slavery is right, but his efforts had the opposite effect. He seemed as one who advocates a cause in which he but half believes — he argues the louder and the harder that he may convince himself as well as his opponent.

The most serious blunder of the slaveholder was his forcing the war by an attempt to break up the Union. He had been protected by the Constitution and by his influence over the northern politician; but in seceding from the Union he shattered the Constitution and alienated his northern friends who still loved the Union. How could he hope to win in a final appeal to arms? He knew that the North was far stronger than the South. Perhaps he underestimated the love for the old flag in the free states; perhaps he believed that the North could not be united against the South; perhaps he relied on foreign recognition and aid. He must have foreseen that, in an exhaustive war, a fight to the finish, between the Union and the slave power, both could not survive — the Union or slavery must perish. The slaveholder therefore took a grave risk when he defied the Union without having measured its strength. It was a leap in the dark, and it proved to be a fatal blunder.

His action was practically taking his case from the lower court, the Constitution and the National Legislature, to the higher tribunal — the People. Strange that he had not learned by the fate of California and of Kansas, of the Whig party and the Kansas-Nebraska Democrats, that the people as a whole were not with him. By his action he invoked against himself the war power of the President; and that included, not only the armies and navies of the United States,

but also the entire resources of the loyal people. The slaveholder was admirably brave and daring, but he was rash and hasty — almost foolhardy; he staked his all and lost all.

Finally, it cannot be denied by any fair-minded observer that the people of the South were generally sincere in battling against the Union. No people could have fought with such valor, such devotion to a cause, such marvelous self-denial, as did the people of the South unless they believed their cause to be right. The southern people had not learned to love the Union as had the people of the North; they believed the state had an inherent right to secede. They had been taught from childhood to love the state above the nation, and the North they regarded almost as a foreign people. Nor did they regard themselves as rebels against their government, but rather as an independent people (after secession had been accomplished), repelling invasion and conquest of their own soil.

The people of the North were equally sincere. They denied the right of secession; they denied the right of the state to seize United States forts and arsenals. And, above all, they felt that they were fighting the battles of humanity in preserving the principle of self-government. Had the South succeeded, the future would doubtless have witnessed further secessions and subdivisions until North America would be divided, like South America, into petty warring states. Republican government would have been put back for centuries and the march of modern civilization greatly impeded. This, then, was the great underlying principle which led the Government to preserve its integrity by force of arms. And who among the friends of self-government, the lovers of liberty in the North or in the South, or from any part of the earth, does not rejoice that we were able to prove to the world that a great people are capable of self-government and able to maintain their national integrity?

CHAPTER V

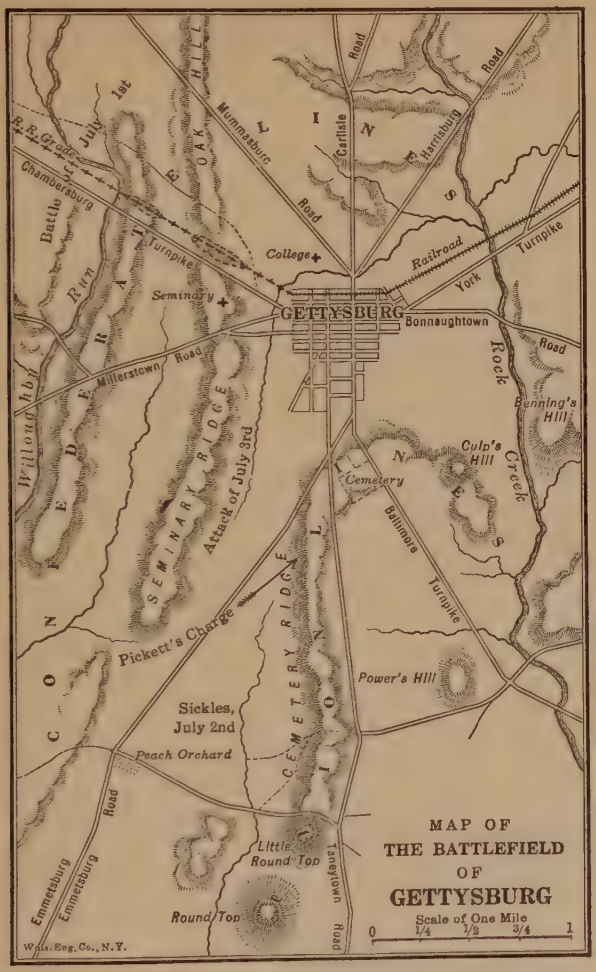
The Battle of Gettysburg

A DETAILED knowledge of the movements of armies and their operations in battle is not of primary importance to the ordinary student of history. This belongs to the province of the military student. We have chosen, however, to devote this Chapter to a notice of the greatest battle in the greatest of civil wars — the Battle of Gettysburg. The military operations of the Civil War were carried on, for the most part, south of Mason and Dixon's line; but this most famous of the battles was fought on northern soil, on the soil of the old Keystone State, which had given birth to the Declaration of Independence and to the Constitution of the United States.

Gettysburg is a quiet hamlet nestled among the hills in Adams county, Pennsylvania, and in 1863 contained about fifteen hundred inhabitants. It had been founded in 1780 by James Gettys, who perhaps never dreamed that his name, thus given to the village, would, through apparently accidental circumstances, become famous in history for all time.

The hills surounding Gettysburg are not rugged nor precipitous; they are little more than gentle swells of ground, and most of them were covered with timber at the time of the famous battle.

The village is the radiating point of several important roads, known by the names of the respective towns to



MAP SHOWING THE IMPORTANT POINTS OF THE BATTLE AND THE UNUSUAL GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE GETTYSBURG BATTLEFIELD

which they lead.[1] The one leading directly northward from the town is known as the Carlisle road, which, passing through the village and deflecting to the southeast, becomes the Baltimore turnpike. East of the Carlisle road is the Harrisburg road and west of it the Mummasburg road. This latter crosses a wooded ridge known as Oak Hill, a mile or more northwest of the town, and this hill became the center of operations on the first day of the battle. West of the village about half a mile is situated on a ridge a Lutheran Theological Seminary, and this ridge, extending north and south, is called Seminary Ridge. Directly south of Gettysburg, almost parallel with Seminary Ridge and about a mile from it, lies Cemetery Ridge. Three miles from the town Cemetery Ridge culminates in a bold, rocky peak, with steep, rugged slopes several hundred feet in height, called Round Top. North of Round Top and quite near it there is a similar peak about half as high called Little Round Top. A mile and a half west of the village flows Willoughby Run, while at about the same distance on the east and nearly parallel to it flows a somewhat larger stream called Rock Creek. Between Rock Creek and the northern extremity of Cemetery Ridge is situated Culp's Hill, one of the most strategic points of the three days' fight. The area of the entire battle-ground is something over twenty-five square miles, all of which may be seen at a glance from any one of the five observatories erected on the ground by the Government.

ADVANCE MOVEMENTS

The Army of Northern Virginia, led by the matchless commander, Robert E. Lee, was flushed with victory during

[1] A brief notice of the topography of the battle-ground is here necessary. The points mentioned should be carefully noted by the reader and reference made to the map on p. 57.

the spring and early summer of 1863. With the exception of the drawn battle of Antietam and a few others of lesser note, this army had been generally successful, their most noted victories being the first and last of the two years' warfare — Bull Run and Chancellorsville. On the other hand, the Army of the Potomac, led successively by McDowell, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, had, under its many masters, met with one discouragement after another; and while no one could doubt its patriotism and its valor, the history of its two years' experience showed but few bright pages to cheer the heart of the war-broken soldier and to inspire the hopes of an anxious public. The more disheartening was this when contrasted with the almost unbroken success of the Union arms in the Mississippi Valley.

The most disastrous defeat they had suffered since Bull Run was at Chancellorsville in May of this year. Yet the Confederate victory at Chancellorsville was a loss rather than a gain, owing to the death of the brilliant, meteoric, Napoleonic Stonewall Jackson. Better could the South have spared the victory and thousands of common soldiers than this dashing, successful leader. Nevertheless, southern hopes were high after Chancellorsville, and public opinion was unanimous in demanding an invasion of the North. Lee decided, therefore, to move northward, cross Mason and Dixon's line, and to make Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, the objective point. It was hoped that Philadelphia would also fall into the hands of the Confederate army. Leaving General Stuart with ten thousand cavalry to watch Hooker and prevent his following in pursuit, Lee crossed the Potomac early in June, and concentrated his army at Hagerstown, Maryland. Everything now seemed to promise a successful invasion of the Keystone State. Lee's

army was divided into three corps, commanded respectively by Generals Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill. As they came near Chambersburg, Lee decided to approach Harrisburg with the main portion of the army by way of the Cumberland Valley through Chambersburg, Carlisle, and Bridgeport, while he sent General Early with a division of Ewell's corps across the South Mountain and ordered him to move upon Harrisburg by way of the Susquehanna Valley, passing through Gettysburg and York, and crossing the Susquehanna River at Columbia. The towns along both routes were to be assessed for large sums of money, and payment enforced by threats to burn the towns, if they refused.

As the close of June approached, and the Confederate army was scattered over the Cumberland Valley with Early's division thirty miles east of Gettysburg, a scout brought General Lee the startling news that Stuart had failed to detain Hooker south of the Potomac River, that the Army of the Potomac was now in Maryland and in hot pursuit of the southern invaders of northern soil. Lee was quick to perceive the necessity of abandoning, at least for the time, his proposed invasion of the North, and of turning back to encounter his deadly foe on the field of battle.

General Hooker was no longer commander of the Army of the Potomac. He had requested of General Halleck, the commander-in-chief with headquarters at Washington, the use of ten thousand men stationed on Maryland Heights above Harper's Ferry under General French. Halleck, who lacked the military wisdom to grasp the situation, and whose dislike for Hooker was an open secret, refused the request. Hooker instantly resigned the command, and General George G. Meade, one of the ablest of the corps commanders, was appointed in his stead.

The two great armies were now scattered through Maryland and southern Pennsylvania. They were moving each toward the other, and every one saw that there was soon to be a clash of arms more terrific, no doubt, than they had yet experienced in their two years' strife; but at what point the shock of battle would occur no one could tell. Lee had ordered Longstreet and Hill to cross the South Mountain eastward from Chambersburg, and Ewell to return southwestward from York. Their natural meeting-place would be the vicinity of Gettysburg. Meantime Meade, whose headquarters were at Taneytown, Maryland, had ordered a general movement of the Union army toward Harrisburg, the object being to encounter Lee as soon as it was possible to meet him. He had sent General Buford with four thousand cavalry to meet and hold in check the advance guard of the Confederate columns, and Buford, on the evening of June 30, passed through the little city of Gettysburg and spent the night a mile west of it between Oak Hill and Seminary Ridge. This was the only portion of the two armies that occupied the coming battle-ground at dawn of the first morning of that fatal July, and Buford is credited with having first chosen this site as a suitable battle-ground.[1]

THE FIRST DAY'S BATTLE

On Wednesday morning, the 1st of July, the forces of the two commanders were still scattered, the extremes being more than forty miles apart. General Daniel E. Sickles, with the sixth corps of the Army of the Potomac,[2] was at Manchester, over thirty miles away, while Sykes with the

[1] Count of Paris, *History of the Civil War*, Vol. III, p. 515.

[2] The Army of the Potomac was divided into seven corps, known as the First, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Eleventh, and Twelfth, commanded respectively by Generals Reynolds, Hancock, Sickles, Sykes, Sedgwick, Howard, and Slocum.

fifth corps was at Union Mills, twenty-three miles from Gettysburg; Hancock with the second corps was at Taneytown; but General Reynolds with the first, third, and eleventh corps, was at Marsh Creek, but few miles away and hastening to the scene of the battle. Longstreet, about the same distance away, was approaching by way of the Chambersburg pike, while Hill was in advance of him and near enough to open the battle with Buford in the early forenoon.

The firing began about nine o'clock. Buford had ordered his men to dismount, and he so placed them as to give the enemy the impression that his force was much greater than it really was; at the same time he sent word to Reynolds, urging him to bring up the infantry with the utmost speed, as the enemy was before him in great force. Reynolds soon joined Buford in the cupola of the Lutheran Seminary, which offered an excellent view of the whole ground of operation, and his keen eye taking in at a glance the importance of the situation, he immediately sent word to Meade that in his opinion a decisive battle should be fought at Gettysburg.

He then rode back to the advance division of his command under General Wadsworth, and sent it with double-quick time to join Buford's cavalry. About ten o'clock Reynolds rode out to an elevation between Seminary Ridge and Willoughby Run, where the battle was raging with great vigor. As he sat on his horse in a clump of trees about two hundred yards south of the Chambersburg pike, a sharpshooter's bullet pierced his brain and he fell from his horse. He was borne to the rear by tender hands, but nothing could restore him to consciousness, and in a few minutes he was dead.

John F. Reynolds was born in 1820. He served through

the Mexican War and was promoted for gallantry at Monterey and Buena Vista. He was one of the bravest, ablest, and most promising young officers in the army. He was mourned more generally by the North than was any other man who fell during the war, with the possible exception of General McPherson, who was killed in a similar manner about a year later before Atlanta.

But even so great a loss could not check the fury of the battle. General Abner Doubleday succeeded him as corps commander, but some time later, General O. O. Howard, arriving on the field and ranking Doubleday, succeeded him. The fighting became very severe around the spot where Reynolds fell. As a brigade under Wadsworth, known as the "Iron Brigade," were hotly engaged in the edge of a grove, they saw a brigade led by General Archer,[1] a portion of Heth's division, Hill's corps, running to the same grove. The Iron Brigade pressed boldly forward, made a desperate dash, and captured Archer with two-thirds of his men, the remainder having fled. Not far from the same point a whole New York regiment was captured, but were afterward rescued by a gallant and impetuous charge of two other New York regiments and one from Wisconsin.

By one o'clock in the afternoon the arrival of large portions of the second and eleventh corps swelled the Federal forces to a formidable army, but still greater were the reënforcements of the Confederates by the arrival of Ewell from Heidlersburg. The battle now became general and extended from the Chambersburg pike across the Mummasburg road south of Oak Hill and eastward almost to Rock

[1] In so brief a description of this battle it will be impossible to give separate notice to the minor organizations of the armies — divisions, brigades, battalions, companies, and their commanders. Only those specially distinguished will be mentioned. The aim has been to give that which will interest, not the military student, but the general reader.

Creek. The eastern portion of the Union lines was held by Generals Carl Schurz and Barlow, who were opposed by Early's division of Ewell's corps; that facing Oak Hill was commanded by Robinson with two brigades under Paul and Baxter, Wadsworth being just west of them, and these were opposed by Rhodes's division of Ewell's corps and a large portion of Hill's corps. The fighting line was about a mile north and northwest from the town of Gettysburg.

The battle continued for several hours with unabated fury. The Confederates far outnumbered their antagonists, and, having seized Oak Hill, they had the greater advantage; but until the middle of the afternoon it was impossible to say which would win the day. The roar of artillery and the unceasing rattle of musketry told the story of sacrifice and slaughter as no pen can tell it. At length, as a gentle wind lifted the smoke that enveloped the scene, the Union lines were seen to waver. Schurz, who commanded the eleventh corps, soon fell back to the town, leaving nearly half his soldiers dead or disabled on the field. Ewell ordered a pursuit, and as the remains of the eleventh corps were scattered in disorder through the streets of the village, the Confederates overtook them and made five thousand of them prisoners.[1]

Doubleday fell back in much better order and made a brief stand on Seminary Ridge, where he had thrown up an embankment in the morning for just such an emergency. But he was soon forced to abandon this position, and fell back to Cemetery Hill just south of the town, which Howard had selected as a general center for the army and as the

[1] The writer visiting the battle-field many years after the battle had been fought, counted, on the western side of the old toll house on the Chambersburg pike, forty-two bullet-holes within a space eight feet square, fourteen of which were in the shutters of a small window. In the same space were three large holes torn by shell.

most suitable ground from which to make a final stand against the enemy. Howard afterward received the thanks of Congress for making this selection.

It sometimes happens that the sudden arrival of some commanding personage on a battle-field during an engagement has a magic effect on a half-defeated army. Such was the case when Sheridan arrived on the field of Cedar Creek from Winchester, and such was the effect of Hancock's arrival on the battle-field of Gettysburg in the afternoon of the first day's fight. Meade was still at Taneytown, nine miles away. On hearing early in the afternoon of the death of Reynolds, he immediately despatched Hancock to take general charge of the battle. Hancock rode at full speed to the scene and arrived about four o'clock. His presence soon brought order out of chaos. His superb bearing, his air of confidence, his promise of heavy reënforcements during the night, all tended to inspire the retreating army with hope. Hancock placed Wadsworth with the remains of his division on Culp's Hill; Geary, with the advance of Slocum's corps, just coming up by the way of the Emmitsburg road, he stationed near Round Top. Thus, with the main part of the army on Cemetery Ridge between these two extremes, a curved line was formed with the convex side facing the enemy.

There was no more fighting that day. Only the advanced portion of both armies had been engaged thus far; yet this first day's fight was a formidable battle in itself, and had this been the end of it, the usual story of the defeat of the Army of the Potomac would have gone forth to the world. But no one could be blamed; the Union troops had fought nobly, valiantly, and had retreated before a stronger force only when there was nothing left for them except retreat or utter rout. The loss to the northern army was exceed-

ingly severe on July 1. A great commander had fallen in the midst of the strife, General Paul had been shot through both eyes, General Barlow was wounded and left for dead on the field, while the rank and file had suffered the enormous loss of ten thousand men.

The battle of Gettysburg was only begun. Meade had now chosen to make this field, on which the advance corps of the two armies had accidentally met, the ground for a general engagement with the invaders of northern soil. He ordered all the outlying legions of his army to hasten with all speed to the field at Gettysburg. Slocum and Sickles reached the field early in the evening of the first, but Sedgwick with sixteen thousand men was still at Manchester, thirty miles away; Hancock's corps was hurrying forward from Taneytown; Sykes' corps reached the ground at midnight after a forced march of twenty-three miles from Union Mills.

Lee had also decided on a decisive battle at Gettysburg, and his army, on the night of the first, was all on the ground except his cavalry and Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps. Had the Confederate chieftain known of the condition of his antagonist on the evening of the first day, he would doubtless have followed up his victory; and, had he done so, the battle of Gettysburg would have been another Bull Run. But he allowed the three or four remaining hours of daylight to slip away without improving them, and thus he gave Meade the entire night in which to arrange his army for a defensive battle. From this serious mistake Lee and his army never recovered to the end of the war. Nevertheless, Lee determined to fight it out at Gettysburg. Indeed, he could not do otherwise than give battle. He had begun an invasion of the North, but this invasion could not possibly have been continued in a hostile country with a

great army at his heels, and between him and his supplies — an army equal in valor and in strength to his own. Had Lee continued his march through Pennsylvania, the Army of the Potomac following, he must needs have kept his forces together to watch his antagonist, and that would have meant starvation, while Meade's army would have been fed by the willing hands of the surrounding populace. Again, had Lee scattered his forces that they might secure the necessaries of life, the various parts would have been attacked singly and annihilated.

Before Lee could continue his invasion, therefore, he must turn and smite the pursuing foe and disable him. But that foe was a giant of unlimited strength and courage; and the coming together of two such forces for a final, decisive death-struggle, meant that a great battle had to be fought — a greater battle than this Western World had hitherto known!

One other alternative remained to Lee, and that was to return to Virginia without striking a decisive blow. But public opinion at the South and in the army would not have approved such a course. Public opinion in America is the ultimate arbiter of great questions. No statesman or warrior can afford to trample on or disregard it; all must bow to this great, final, national tribunal — Public Opinion. It was this universal master that had sent the Confederate leader northward; and, had he abandoned the project without a determined effort, even the magic name of Robert E. Lee would have lost its magic at the South. A battle was necessary to the southern commander; and why not at Gettysburg, where the army was now collected and was flushed with the victory of the preliminary struggle of the first day? But Lee's disadvantages were great. He had lost his ablest corps commander, Jackson; he was without

Stuart and his ten thousand cavalry, who had not yet joined the main army; he was on foreign soil with which he was not familiar as he was with the soil of his own Virginia.

And, furthermore, Meade had the advantage of position. The Union army, with its center on Cemetery Hill, its right swung around to Culp's Hill and its left to the base of Round Top, with the valley of Rock Creek in the rear, where all maneuvers of the army were unseen by the foe, was in an excellent position to fight a defensive battle. Lee's army rested its center on Seminary Ridge, its left on the banks of Rock Creek north of Gettysburg, while its right occupied the ridge back of the Emmitsburg road opposite Round Top. It thus formed a grand semicircle five or six miles in length, half surrounding the Army of the Potomac. The disadvantage of Lee's position was twofold: first, there was no unseen valley in the rear, and all the general movements had to be made in view of the enemy; second, his battle-line, forming the outer circle, was much longer than that of Meade, and communications from one part of the army to another were made with greater difficulty.

Thus during the night of July 1, 1863, lay the two great armies awaiting the coming dawn, as a wild beast crouches to spring upon his prey. It seemed that at last the great opposing forces were ready to grapple in a final, deadly struggle for supremacy — that the fate of the great Republic hung in the balance — and the people of the North and of the South awaited with breathless eagerness the decision now about to be made at Gettysburg.

THE SECOND DAY'S BATTLE

The dawn on July 2 betokened a beautiful summer day in southern Pennsylvania. The hours of the night had been used by the two armies in marshaling of battalions and maneuvering of corps and divisions — in preparation for the terrible business of the coming day. But, when morning dawned, both armies hesitated as if unwilling to begin the dreadful task of slaughter and bloodshed. They remained inactive, except for a stray shot here and there, until near four o'clock in the afternoon. The two commanders-in-chief had been absent at the opening of the battle, but were now on the ground, Lee arriving late in the afternoon of the first, and Meade about one o'clock the next morning.

The fighting on this day was confined to the left and right wings, the centers of the two armies remaining comparatively inactive. Lee had ordered Longstreet, who commanded his right wing, to make a general assault on the Union left under Sickles, and Ewell with the left wing to attack the Union right at Culp's Hill, while Hill was to hold the center in a menacing attitude and thus prevent Meade's center from aiding the engaged portions.[1]

General Sickles had been stationed by order of General Meade just west of the Round Tops, with his right extending northward to join Hancock's left on Cemetery Ridge, thus forming an unbroken line. But Sickles advanced without orders about half a mile to and beyond the Emmitsburg road, breaking his connection with Hancock's corps and

[1] The exact strength of the two armies is not known. Judging from the best sources of information, we would place the Union army at a little over one hundred thousand men, including ten thousand cavalry and seven thousand artillery. The Confederate army probably numbered about ten thousand less than its antagonist.

leaving a wide gap between them. Sickles' corps now formed an angle at a peach orchard and faced about half the Confederate army.[1] Meade rode out to Sickles' headquarters and remonstrated against such unnecessary exposure, whereupon Sickles offered to withdraw. But Meade expressed his fear that such a move would not be permitted by the enemy. While he was speaking the boom of cannon from Longstreet's batteries announced the opening of the second day's battle. Lee had ordered Longstreet to attack Sickles in full force. The fire was soon answered by the Union troops, and in a few minutes the fight extended from the peach orchard through a wheat field and along the whole line to the base of Little Round Top. The musketry opened with stray volleys here and there — then more and faster until there was one continuous roll, and no ear could distinguish one shot from another. Longstreet swept forward in a magnificent line of battle a mile and a half long. He pressed back the Union line, and was seriously threatening the batteries.

At the extreme left Captain Biglow commanded a Massachusetts battery. He was ordered to hold his position at all hazards until reënforced. With double charges of grape and canister again and again he tore great gaps in the advancing line, but the line reformed and pressed onward until they reached the very muzzles of his guns! Again he fired, but the heroic band at last gave way to the increasing numbers of the enemy. Biglow was wounded, half of his men were left on the bloody field; while he lost eighty out of eighty-eight horses, and four of six guns. This is a sample of the heroism displayed at Gettysburg.

But the most desperate single struggle of the day was the fight for the possession of Little Round Top. It was late

[1] Greeley, *American Conflict*, Vol. II, p. 381.

in the afternoon, while the battle in the valley below was at its height, that General Warren, the chief engineer of the Army of the Potomac, happened to come upon that wild, rocky eminence. It was unoccupied at the time, and Warren quickly saw the great importance of preventing its occupation by the enemy, for the hill was the key to the whole battle-ground west and south of Cemetery Ridge. At that moment Warren saw that Hood's division of Longstreet's corps was moving steadily toward the hill and had evidently determined to occupy it. Had he succeeded, the result would have been most disastrous to the Union army, for the enemy could then have reached the entire Union lines on the western edge of Cemetery Ridge with an enfilading fire. Warren acted with the haste of desperation. A battery commanded by Colonel Hazlitt was dragged by hand up the rugged steep and planted on the summit. At the same time Sykes' corps, hastening from Culp's Hill to the support of Sickles, was passing near by, and Warren detached a brigade under General Vincent with which to hold the coveted position. Meantime Hood's forces had come up the hill, and were now running to possess the summit. Then occurred one of the most dreadful hand-to-hand conflicts of the war — one of the kind in which men forget that they are human, and tear each other like wild beasts. The opposing forces, not having time to reload, charged each other with the bayonet and with clubbed muskets — the blue and the gray grappled in mortal combat and fell dead side by side — the front column of privates falling in their tracks, the officers sprung forward, seized the muskets from their dying hands, and continued the struggle! This went on for half an hour, when Hood's forces gave way and were pressed down the hillside. But they rallied and advanced again by way of a ravine on the left, and again,

after a most valiant charge, were driven back at the point of the bayonet!

Little Round Top was saved to the Union army, but the cost was severe indeed. The hill was covered with hundreds of the slain. Colonels O'Rourke and Vincent were dead. General Weed was dying; and as Hazlitt was stooping to receive his last message, a sharpshooter's bullet laid him dead across the body of his friend!

During this siege, and for some hours thereafter, the battle continued in the valley below on a grander scale and with demon-like fury. Here many thousands were engaged. Sickles would no doubt have been utterly defeated, but for the arrival of Sykes and the support he received from Hancock. As it was, his whole line was pressed back to the base of the hill from which it had advanced in the morning. Sickles had a leg shattered by a shell, necessitating amputation, while scores of his brave officers and thousands of his men lay on the field of glory when the battle ceased at nightfall. This valley has been appropriately named the Valley of Death.

Before the close of this main part of the second day's battle there was another clash of arms, fierce but of short duration, at the other extreme of the line. Lee had ordered Ewell to attack Cemetery Ridge on the north, and Culp's Hill, held by Slocum. It was late in the afternoon, almost sunset, when Ewell sent Early to make an attack on Cemetery Hill. He was repulsed only after a desperate hand-to-hand fight, in which not only muskets and bayonets were used, but rammers, clubs, and stones. Ewell's attack on Culp's Hill was more successful. After a severe struggle of half an hour the Confederate forces gained possession of part of the hill and of the valley lying toward Rock Creek. This position they held during the night.

Thus closed the second day's battle at Gettysburg. The harvest of death had been frightful. The Union loss during the two days had exceeded twenty thousand men, the Confederate loss had reached about the same figure. The Confederate army had gained an apparent advantage in forcing Sickles' advanced line back, and a real advantage in penetrating the Union breastworks on Culp's Hill. But the real Union lines, except on Culp's Hill, were unbroken. On the night of the second, Lee and his generals held a council of war and decided to make a grand final assault on Meade's center next day. Again this decision, Longstreet protested in vain. His counsel was that Lee withdraw his army to the mountains, compel Meade to follow, and then turn and attack him. But Lee was encouraged by the arrival of Pickett's division and of Steuart's cavalry, and Longstreet's objections were overruled. Meade and his corps commanders had met and made a like decision — that there should be a fight to the finish at Gettysburg.

As night overspread the valley and the hills, the weary legions in blue and in gray sank down upon the ground for a few hours' rest, that they might the better endure the terrible ordeal of the morrow.

THE THIRD DAY'S BATTLE

On July 3 the inhabitants of Gettysburg were awakened from sleep at break of day by the roar of artillery. Long and dark lines of soldiers occupied the surrounding hills, but these, for the most part, were inactive; the battle was confined for several hours to the eastern extremity of the lines. A score of heavy guns had been massed during the night by order of Meade against the enemy on Culp's Hill, with the determination to dislodge him from the position he had gained the previous evening. After four hours of heavy

firing, beginning at four o'clock in the morning, the enemy was driven from the hill and the Union line reëstablished as on the day before.

We turn now to the greater struggle that occurred in another part of the field at a later hour — indeed, the most famous portion of the three days' fight at Gettysburg — the ill-fated charge of Pickett on Cemetery Ridge, preceded by two hours of the heaviest cannonading ever known on the American continent.

The hour of noon had passed. Culp's Hill had been carried in the early morning hours. A fierce cavalry fight had taken place a few miles east of Rock Creek. Now there was a lull over the entire field — almost a deep silence; but it was the ominous calm that precedes the storm. Lee had been massing artillery along Seminary Ridge until the whole hill for two miles bristled with mounted cannon. At one o'clock the silence was broken by the firing of a signal gun, and instantly there was a terrific outburst from one hundred and fifty guns and the entire crest of Seminary Ridge was a line of fire. A few minutes later the Union batteries on Cemetery Hill opened with near a hundred guns, and cannon answered cannon until the hills were shaken to their base. The air was filled with screaming shells, and it seemed as if heaven were raining fire and iron. The ground was torn and gashed by the bursting shells. Lee's fire was well directed, and many of the Union batteries were disabled. Many were the brave warriors who laid down their lives on that fatal field, and ere nightfall the old cemetery contained more dead above the ground than beneath it. For nearly two hours the artillery duel continued, when it slowly abated. But the end was not yet. The army now braced itself for the more deadly charge of infantry that was sure to follow.

The charge now made, known as Pickett's Charge, was one of the most brilliant and daring in the annals of warfare. It reminds one of the charge of the noble Six Hundred at Balaklava, or of the brave stand of Leonidas and his heroes against the Persian host at Thermopylæ. It is said that Longstreet, seeing the hopelessness of the task and not wishing to sacrifice his brave Virginians, the flower of the army, opposed making the charge, but Lee insisted that it be made. At length, when Pickett came to Longstreet for final orders to go, the latter simply nodded his head and burst into tears.

The Confederates, fifteen thousand strong, emerged at four o'clock from the wooded crest of Seminary Ridge in a grand double column, and began their march of a mile across the plain to the Union stronghold. With flying banners and glittering bayonets, they sweep across that fated valley. Ere they have traversed half the space a tremendous cannonade from the Union batteries pours into their devoted lines a storm of grape and canister and shell; but onward they sweep like a tidal wave. As they approach the Union front the left wing of the advancing lines, under Pettigrew, unable to stem the tempest of lead and iron, breaks and flees in disorder; but the main column under Pickett is unbroken. Great gaps are cut in their ranks by the Federal cannon; but the gaps are instantly filled with living men and the lines press on. When in musket range a terrific fire is poured into them from Hancock's infantry, but Pickett's valiant band only quicken their pace, returning the fire with volley after volley as they dash up the slope to the very cannon's mouth! They bayonet the gunners, shoot their horses, capture their batteries. It seems for a moment that they will reach their goal, that they will capture the Union works on Cemetery Hill and split the

Army of the Potomac in twain. A low stone wall, from behind which many of Hancock's men had fought, is now abandoned, and General Armistead, leading Pickett's advance guard, leaps upon the wall within the Union lines and waves the Confederate banner in frenzied momentary triumph. The next instant he falls mortally wounded — and with him fall the hopes of the slaveholders' rebellion — not yet slain, but mortally wounded. Pickett had penetrated a death-trap. In vain did he now charge with all the desperation of frenzied valor. His brave Virginians were surrounded on three sides, and volleys of musketry were poured into them in front and from the right and from the left. Hundreds fell dead on the gory field, hundreds were disabled, thousands threw up their hands and surrendered, and the remainder fled in disorder.[1] Back they went over the same route on which they had marched so proudly but an hour ago, but now only a fourth of their original number — then an organized body with orderly step, with waving banners, with high hopes of victory and glory — now a straggling mass of blood-stained, defeated soldiers fleeing a victorious foe.

Pickett's desperate assault had failed. The battle of Gettysburg was over and the Union arms were victorious. Lee could do nothing now but abandon his proposed invasion of the North and lead his army back to their familiar haunts of Virginia.

It is generally considered that the battle of Gettysburg was the turning-point, the high-water mark, of the Civil War. The victory was not a very decisive one, but, being

[1] The losses of the two armies during the three days' fight at Gettysburg reached the total of near fifty thousand men. Of these more than six thousand fell dead upon the field of battle; some thirty thousand were wounded and the rest made prisoners. The Union loss exceeded twenty-three thousand in all, while the Confederate loss was no doubt greater, but was never accurately ascertained.

powerfully supported by the fall of Vicksburg, which occurred at the same time, the moral effect upon the nation and the world was far-reaching indeed. It marks the end of uncertainty as to the final outcome of the Civil War. From this moment it required but little prophetic vision to foresee that the Union would survive the dreadful shock of arms, and that slavery must perish.[1]

[1] The space just west of the old cemetery was set apart for a national cemetery. This was dedicated on November 19, 1863, when President Lincoln made his memorable address, which is pronounced one of the brightest literary gems in the language. In this cemetery 3564 bodies were interred, some of which have since been removed. The entire battle-ground later became the property of the Government, and scattered over it are some five hundred monuments, statues, and markers, many of rare beauty. The macadamized drives about the grounds aggregate about twenty-two miles.

CHAPTER VI

Anecdotes and Stories of the War

During the long war there was much suffering, and too often there was cruelty; but there are many bright spots on the dark pages of the war history. Deeds of heroism unsurpassed, kindness to a fallen foe, friendship between enemies, ludicrous and humorous situations — these and many other things must be included in the history of the great Civil War.

FRIENDLY ENEMIES

When the war first broke out, and for some time afterwards, there was a feeling of personal hostility between the soldiers of the two sides. A man in blue uniform was treated with indignity if he fell into the hands of the enemy, and the same was true of the man in gray. But the conditions were changed long before the war was over. The men of each side came to respect their enemies. They often talked and joked across the line when no battle was in progress. Pickets of the different sides would often meet and spend the night together in the most friendly companionship.

When the opposing armies were encamped on opposite sides of the Little Rapidan River, in Virginia, sometimes even the officers in bathing would meet and shake hands in the middle of the stream. The men often traded, southern

tobacco usually being bartered for northern coffee. Sometimes men scantily clad would swim across the river, merely to pay a friendly visit to the enemy.

One day the southern general, J. B. Gordon, was riding along his lines, when at one point he noticed unusual commotion, and asked:

"What's the matter here? What is this confusion about?"

"Nothing at all, general, it is all right," answered the men.

As he was about to ride on he noticed the tall weeds on the river bank shaking. He wheeled his horse about and asked:

"What's the matter with those weeds?"

"Nothing, general, nothing."

"Go break them down and let me see."

The men did so and here lay a man so nearly undressed that it could not be told by his uniform which side he belonged to.

"Where do you belong?" asked the officer.

"Over yonder," the man replied, pointing to the Union army across the river.

"And what are you doing here? Don't you know, sir, that there is war going on in this country?"

"Yes, general; but we are not fighting now, and I didn't think it any harm to come over and visit the Johnnies a little while."

The Union men usually spoke of the Confederates as Johnnies, and the Confederates called them Yankees, or Yanks.

General Gordon could hardly keep from laughing, but pretended to be very stern, and said to the Yankee: "I'm going to teach you that we are at war. I'm going to send you to Richmond as a prisoner."

The man turned pale. Then the Johnnies spoke up:

"Don't send him to prison, general; we invited the Yank over, and promised to protect him."

Gordon then turned to the trembling Yank and said: "Now, if I permit you to go, will you promise me, on the honor of a soldier——"

The man did not wait till the general had finished. He shouted, "Yes, general," and leaped into the water like a bullfrog, and swam to the Union side of the river.

This incident is taken from General Gordon's *Reminiscences of the Civil War*, and here is another from the same:

When General Longstreet was besieging Knoxville, Tennessee, a number of his troops made a brave dash to capture a fort, but were beaten back. As they fled they leaped into a deep ditch to escape the shower of bullets. From this they could not hope to get out before night without incurring the greatest danger. The sun was boiling down on them. They were out of water and almost famished with thirst.

A young soldier offered to go for water, though he took his life in his hands. He succeeded in reaching the river, filled several canteens, and threw them over his shoulder. He saw a score of muskets leveled at him. How could he hope to get back alive? But he was determined to risk the attempt. He started to run. The Yanks in the fort were struck with admiration at his bravery. They fired not a shot. They raised a shout and cheered and cheered until the youth had reached his comrades in the ditch.

Here is a story told by Major Nelson, of Indiana: He was on picket duty and it was late in the night when a Confederate picket, not far away, called to him: "Hello there, Yank! Have you got any coffee?"

"Yes; come over and share it with us," answered Nelson.

"We would like to, but there are too many of us — fourteen of us on this post."

"Come, anyhow. Bring all the Johnnies with you. We'll divide with you."

Until two o'clock in the morning the Blue and the Gray mingled together, drank coffee, and told stories. When the Johnnies left, they said:

"Good night, Yanks. You've been awfully kind to us. Hope you'll have a good rest. We are going to give you battle to-morrow."

THE DRUMMER BOY FROM TENNESSEE

One of the most pathetic tales of the war comes from Missouri. A woman from East Tennessee, whose husband had espoused the Union cause and had been killed in battle, came, with her little son, to Missouri in search of her sister, who lived in St. Louis. She intended to seek employment, and she thought also that her boy, who was twelve years of age, might be useful to the army as a drummer. At Camp Benton, in Missouri, she applied to the captain and told her story, asking that her boy be taken into the service as a drummer. The captain was about to declare that so small a boy could not be accepted when the little follow spoke out:

"Captain, don't be afraid; I can drum. I drummed for Captain Hill in Tennessee."

This was said with so much decision and confidence that the captain changed his countenance. "Very well, my lad, we'll give you a trial. Sergeant, bring the drum and order the fifer to come forward."

The fifer was an angular, bony man, over six feet in height. He had been a miner in the West. He looked down as if amused to think of this little fellow becoming his chum. He then straightened himself up, put his fife to his lips and played one of the most difficult selections he could

find. The captain listened carefully, and when the piece was finished he turned to the mother and said: "I will take your son, madam. What is his name?"

"Edward Lee," answered the mother, "and we call him Eddie. And oh, captain, if he is not killed——"

Here she broke down and, turning to her boy, threw her arms around him and covered his face with kisses. Again she recovered herself and said: "You will bring him back, captain, won't you?"

"Yes, yes; we are to be discharged in six weeks. Of course we will bring him back to you."

Eddie soon became a favorite with every man in the company. When any of the "boys," as soldiers usually call one another, went out foraging and came in with peaches, melons, and such things, Eddie's share was always set aside first.

The company was soon ordered from Rolla to Springfield. In the march they had to cross swamps and ford streams, and it was amusing to see the long-legged fifer wading through mud and water with Eddie on his back.

It was in August, 1861. The Union army, commanded by General Lyon, encountered the enemy in force on the banks of a little stream called Wilson's Creek, where a hard battle was fought on the tenth. The Union forces fought bravely, but were driven back, and their brave commander was killed. Their hearts sank within them when the word was passed along, "General Lyon is killed."

Where was our little drummer boy? Let us finish the story in the words of the one man, a member of Eddie's company, who alone could tell the story with authority.

"That night I was detailed for guard duty, my turn of guard closing with the morning call. When I went out with the officer as relief I found that my post was upon a high eminence that overlooked the deep ravine in which our men

had engaged the enemy. It was a dreary, lonesome beat. The moon had gone down in the early part of the night, while the stars twinkled dimly through a hazy atmosphere, lighting up imperfectly the surrounding objects. Occasionally I would place my ear near the ground and listen for the sound of footsteps, but all was silent save the far-off howling wolf that seemed to scent upon the evening air the banquet that we had been preparing for him. The hours passed slowly away, when at length the morning light began to streak along the eastern sky. Presently I heard a drum beat up the morning call. At first I thought it came from the camp of the enemy across the creek, but as I listened I found that it came up from the deep ravine. For a few minutes it was silent, and then as it became more light I heard it again. I listened — the sound of the drum was familiar to me — and I knew that it was our

> Drummer boy from Tennessee,
> Beating for help the *reveille.*

"I was about to desert my post to go to his assistance when I discovered the officer of the guard approaching with two men. We all listened to the sound, and were satisfied that it was Eddie's drum. I asked permission to go to his assistance. The officer hesitated, saying that the orders were to march in twenty minutes. I promised to be back in that time, and he consented. I immediately started down the hill through the thick undergrowth, and upon reaching the valley I followed the sound of the drum and soon found him, seated upon the ground, his back leaning against the trunk of a fallen tree, while his drum hung upon a bush in front of him, reaching nearly to the ground. As soon as he discovered me he dropped his drumsticks and exclaimed:

" 'Oh, corporal, I am glad to see you! Give me a drink,' reaching out his hand for my canteen, which was empty.

"I immediately turned to bring him some water from the brook that I could hear rippling through the bushes near by when, thinking I was about to leave him, he commenced crying, saying: 'Don't leave me, corporal; I can't walk.' I was soon back with the water, when I discovered that both of his feet had been shot away by a cannon ball. After satisfying his thirst, he looked up into my face and said:

" 'You don't think I will die, corporal, do you? This man said I would not; he said the surgeon could cure my feet.'

"I now discovered a man lying in the grass near him. By his dress I recognized him as belonging to the enemy. It appeared that he had been shot through the bowels, and had fallen near where Eddie lay. Knowing that he could not live, and seeing the condition of the boy, he had crawled to him, taken off his buckskin suspenders and corded the little fellow's legs below the knee, and then had lain down and died. While Eddie was telling me these particulars I heard the tramp of cavalry coming down the ravine, and in a moment a scout of the enemy was upon us and I was taken prisoner. I requested the officer to take Eddie up in front of him, and he did so, carrying him with great tenderness and care.

"When we reached the camp of the enemy the little fellow was dead."

SELF-SACRIFICE AND DEVOTION

There was a young soldier from Massachusetts named Broad, who deserves a place among the heroes for his noble self-sacrifice.

It was in the Virginia campaign in 1864. His company

was fighting from behind an embankment, when one of their number ventured too far out and was struck by a solid shot, his leg being nearly torn from his body. He rolled down the bank, in plain view of his comrades and of the enemy, and was unable to rise. The lifeblood was spurting from his wound, and he must soon bleed to death if not cared for. If only he could receive surgical attention his life might be saved; but with the bullets flying around like hail it was a most dangerous task to attempt his rescue.

The captain looked at his men as though saying with his eyes, "Who will volunteer to save our comrade?" At this moment young Broad stepped forward and said:

"I have neither wife nor child to suffer if I am killed. I will save him, if God gives me the strength."

He then leaped over the bank, seized his wounded comrade, and hurried back amid the whizzing missiles. The men cheered and the surgeon soon stanched the gushing blood. As they gathered around Broad to congratulate him on his heroism they saw a deadly pallor on his face, and he faintly said:

"I hope I have saved my friend's life, but I have lost my own."

He had been shot through the body, and died within the hour.

The story of Colonel Ellsworth attracted wide attention at the beginning of the war. Ephraim Elmer Ellsworth was a young man of much promise, and a favorite of President Lincoln. He was made colonel of a regiment, and in May, 1861, was sent to take possession of Alexandria, a town in Virginia not far from Washington.

Descending the Potomac in boats, the troops landed at daybreak, and were soon in possession of the town. Ellsworth sent a company of men to seize the telegraph station,

and to make sure that the work be done quickly and well he accompanied them. As they passed the Marshall House, a hotel kept by a man named Jackson, they saw a Confederate flag waving over the roof.

"We must have the flag," cried Ellsworth, as he rushed into the hotel.

Followed by two or three of his men, he sprang up the stairs to the roof and seized the flag. As he was coming down and was but a few steps from the lower landing he found himself looking into the muzzle of a double-barreled shotgun but six feet away. It was in the hands of Jackson, the hotel proprietor. Ellsworth had no time for self-defense. In an instant the gun was discharged full at his breast. He pitched forward to the floor below, falling with a heavy thud on his face. Scarcely a second passed when Francis Brownell, one of Ellsworth's men, shot Jackson directly in the face, and he fell lifeless by the side of the man he had slain but a moment before.

There were many instances during the war of women fighting in the ranks without their sex being known. Here we give one instance of this kind:

A young lady lived in Chicago with her brother, who was her only living relative. Soon after the war opened the brother shouldered a musket and went to the front, leaving his sister alone. She was physically strong and rather above the average size of women. Moreover, she was extremely patriotic and anxious to do something for her country. She determined to make an effort to get into the ranks as a private soldier, and succeeded in doing so.

Taking the name Frank Stephens, she donned the male uniform, entered one of the Illinois regiments, and soon proved herself a true soldier. In bravery she proved herself equal to any man in her regiment. When a battle was

raging, Frank Stephens was always at her place of duty. In everything else she remained the modest, respectable woman that she had always been. Her language was so pure and her ways so gentle that she won the esteem of every man in her company, none of them suspecting for a moment that Frank was a woman.

One day, as the army was marching through Alabama, Frank went into a house to ask for something to eat. Presently two Confederates crept out from under a bed and ordered her to surrender. She was taken to Atlanta, Ga., and shut up in a prison. From this she made a desperate effort to escape. The guard called on her to halt, but she ran on, paying no attention to the order. He then shot and wounded her severely in the leg. She was then taken to a hospital, where she disclosed her sex to one of the matrons. Receiving the kindest attention, she slowly recovered from her painful wound, and, being exchanged, returned to her home in Chicago. Here she met her brother, who had also just returned from the war. They had lost track of each other, and neither knew until this meeting that the other was alive.

GENERAL POLK IN A PREDICAMENT

Leonidas Polk was a noted southern general, a graduate of West Point. He was also a clergyman, and for twenty years before the war was Episcopal Bishop of Louisiana. At the battle of Perryville, in Kentucky, October, 1862, he had a singular experience.

The battle had continued during the day, and it was now evening, almost dark. A new battery, under Polk, had just come into action when he observed a body of men, whom he supposed to be Confederates, firing directly at them. "Dear me! this is very sad, and it must be stopped," said the general. Looking about for a member of his staff and find-

ing none, he decided to go himself and put a stop to the firing.

Riding up to the colonel, he demanded in angry tones why they were firing on their own friends.

"I don't think there can be any mistake about it; I am sure they are the enemy," answered the colonel.

"Enemy? Why, I only just left them myself. Cease firing, sir! What is your name?"

"I am Colonel ——, of Indiana. And pray, sir, who are you?"

Polk now realized, to his astonishment, that he was among enemies. His wits did not desert him. He saw that the only hope of saving himself from death or capture was to brazen it out. He wore a dark blouse, which partly covered his gray uniform, and this, with the approaching night, proved his salvation. Riding close up to the colonel, he shook his fist at him and shouted:

"I'll show you who I am, sir. Cease firing this instant!"

The colonel hesitated and the southern general rode slowly along the line until he came to a copse. He then put spurs to his horse and galloped back in safety to his own lines.

About a year and eight months after this incident General Polk was killed at Pine Mountain, near Atlanta, his body being torn to pieces by a cannon ball.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO MRS. BIXBY

For tender sympathy and simple beauty of expression no letter of condolence in the English language will surpass the one sent by President Lincoln to Mrs. Bixby. She was a widow about sixty years of age, and resided in Boston. She had six sons in the war, five of whom were killed in battle. When the facts were published in the newspapers and when it became known that Mrs. Bixby was poor, a considerable

sum of money was raised and carried to her by General Schouler. Some time later she received from President Lincoln the following remarkable letter, which deserves to be placed among the classics:

WASHINGTON, 21ST NOV., 1864.

DEAR MADAM: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle.

I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save.

I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and the lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours, very sincerely and respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

MAXIMILIAN IN MEXICO

The attempt to set up an Old World monarchy in Mexico was not exactly caused by our Civil War; but it is certain that no such attempt would have been made had there been no war in this country. And it is equally certain that the downfall of the Mexican Empire was brought about by the interference of the United States, after the Civil War had ended.

Louis Napoleon III, nephew of the great Napoleon who had died in 1821 on the island of St. Helena, was now Emperor of France. He had little ability in comparison with his great namesake. He knew that his popularity in

France was waning and he looked about for something spectacular to do in order to win applause and strengthen his tottering throne. Here was Mexico, badly governed and apparently inviting intervention. Why not send an army to Mexico, since the United States is at war and unable to enforce the Monroe Doctrine? Why not set up an empire there? What a monument it would be to the genius of this ambitious Napoleon!

The French monarch was not a statesman. Unable to manage smaller affairs at home, he had dreams and visions of dazzling the world with great undertakings in foreign lands. A wiser man would have hesitated long before entering on so rash an experiment; but Napoleon saw only glory to himself and the establishing of a Latin monarchy to rival the great Anglo-Saxon Republic of the New World. His army landed at Vera Cruz, Mexico, in 1862, on the pretext of collecting debts. Great Britain and Spain also sent warships to Vera Cruz for the same purpose; but when they discovered the ulterior motives of the French, they made terms with Mexico and withdrew.

The President of Mexico at this time was Benito Juarez, a full-blooded Indian, a man of education, honesty, and ability. He resisted the French as best he could; but with his tatterdemalion army he made little headway against the well-trained French regulars. By the summer of 1863 the country was conquered by the French invaders.

Who should be the Emporor, if an empire were to be built on the ruins of the Republic? There was no one of his own family to whom Napoleon could turn. He therefore called on Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, and invited him to become Emperor of Mexico. The story of this hapless prince is a sad one.

Maximilian was a brother of the Emperor of Austria-

Hungary, Francis Joseph. He was a member of the world-famous House of Hapsburg and could trace his ancestry back more than six hundred years through a long line of kings and emperors. He was a man of good qualities and noble impulses. Tall and stalwart, with a high, broad forehead, keen blue eyes, a long flowing beard parted in the middle, he had a proud step and a kingly bearing. He could speak and write in seven languages. He had traveled widely over the world and was a favorite in every royal court.

When asked to become Emperor of Mexico, Maximilian hesitated long, and consented only on the condition that the Mexican people should be willing that he become their ruler. The French pretended that the consent of the Mexicans had been obtained, and in 1864 the Austrian archduke sailed for Mexico.

Maximilian was a young man, only thirty-two, and a few years before this he had married the beautiful Princess Carlotta, daughter of the King of Belgium and descendant of the great French sovereign, King Henry of Navarre. Unlike many royal marriages, theirs was a pure love match.

Carlotta was ambitious to become an empress. Her husband was heir to no European throne. Here was the opportunity.

They talked over and over the wonderful possibilities that lay before them. How grand it would be to reign in a resplendent palace, with nobles bowing at your feet and millions of subjects ready to heed your every word and glance, and waiting to shout their glad huzzas wherever you go! The prize was too alluring to be resisted. Carlotta agreed to the project and sailed with her husband to Mexico. Little did she know that this was the beginning of the end of all her earthly happiness — that this romance of youth would end in a mournful tragedy.

In May, 1864, the royal pair debarked on the coast of Mexico. Welcomed by crowds of people, they proceeded to the capital, where a splendid reception awaited them. Carlotta was supremely happy. She was kind and gracious to her new subjects. On her birthday she gave seven thousand dollars to feed the poor. Thousands applauded the new rulers, and in a few weeks their court was established and most of the people seemed contented.

But there was a minor strain in all the music, and a discordant note in the shouts of the multitude. Many of the people did not join in the applause, others did so because they had been bribed by the royal party. Moreover, the Republican government had not ceased to exist. The officers had fled from the capital, and were only waiting for a turn of the tide. It soon came.

The Civil War in the United States was over. The Government and people had watched the invasion of Mexico by the French army and regarded it a downright infraction of the Monroe Doctrine. Louis Napoleon had promised Maximilian that a French army should remain in Mexico for six years, or until the latter could create an adequate army for himself.

Our Government informed the Emperor of France that this whole proceeding was highly distasteful to the United States, but the Emperor did not seem to understand. At length, the war over, Secretary of State Seward came out boldly and demanded that the French army be withdrawn from Mexico, and to emphasize the demand, General Sheridan was sent into Texas with 50,000 veteran troops. Louis Napoleon now quickly understood, and promised to withdraw his army.

What was to become of Maximilian and his Empire? His friends advised him to abdicate and return to Europe, for

it was believed that his throne would crumble and fall when the French support was withdrawn. He decided to do so; but the ambitious Carlotta stayed his hand. For two years now she had been an Empress, and had been the central figure in a gay court modeled after those of Europe. Brilliant and gracious was she; no princess in Europe could outshine her in the festive circle. Could she now endure to be degraded from her throne and be an Empress no more?

No, she would first make a desperate effort. She would go to Europe and persuade the French Emperor to reconsider. Perhaps she did not know of the inflexible force of the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon refused her request because he could not do otherwise. Then Carlotta went to Rome and pleaded with the Pope to interfere in her husband's behalf; but he, too, was powerless.

Now came the sad news to all Europe and to Mexico that Carlotta's mind had given way. She was insane.

Maximilian, still in Mexico, was overcome with grief at this news of his beloved wife. But his troubles were only begun.

It happened that there was a really great leader in Mexico at this time. It was President Juarez, who had refused to bow to the French, or to lay down his office. He refused to support Maximilian or even to meet him. When the French had departed, Juarez soon raised an army to oppose the Emperor and the few followers who had remained faithful to him

A short, sharp war was the result, and Maximilian was defeated and taken prisoner. Tried by a court martial, he was sentenced to be shot. No pleadings for clemency could reach the iron heart of Juarez. The fallen Emperor was led to the place of execution, with two of his companions. Around the doomed men stood three thousand soldiers. Maximilian

was brave and undaunted. He took a costly ring from his finger and handed it to a friend, requesting that it be given to his mother. "Poor Carlotta," he cried, mournfully, "if I had gone with you, it would have been better for me." He then stepped boldly to the place of execution, forgave his enemies, commended his soul to God, and, throwing up his hand, cried, "Fire!"

Instantly six men, who stood with pointed muskets, pulled the trigger, and thus ended the short, fateful career of Maximilian in Mexico.

Poor Carlotta! She lived under the care of her brother, King Leopold of Belgium, and later of her nephew, who succeeded to the Belgian throne. Confined in a castle, she spent sixty years after her brief reign of glory in Mexico, dying, aged and tottering, in 1927. She never recovered her reason and she never knew of the tragic fate of the husband of her youth. Many have been the tragedies among the royal families of Europe; but one would search long to find a sadder story than that of Maximilian and Carlotta.

CHAPTER VII

Causes of Northern Success

Other things being equal, it is the stronger of two peoples that wins in war. But it often happens that other things are not equal. The weaker side may win through greater devotion to a cause, through superior leadership, and the like. Many instances in history have proved that the victory is not always to the strong. Had this criterion of strength alone been taken in our late Civil War, the North must necessarily have been successful, for it was immeasurably stronger than the South. There were twenty-two states against eleven, twenty-two million people against nine million, one-third of whom were slaves. And further, it was the manufacturer and the farmer against the planter. This want of manufactories in the South constituted the most vital difference in the material strength of the combatants. The resources of the South, while inferior to those of the North, were nevertheless great. The soil of the southern states was capable of feeding its armies for any length of time; its mineral wealth was inexhaustible; as to men for the army, the boy of twelve years in 1860 was able to bear arms in 1865, and thus the depleted ranks might have been refilled and the war prolonged for years, but for the one thing needful — the South could not work its own materials. Could the South have worked its own cotton, could it have made its munitions of war and its machinery, the struggle might have continued much longer than it did. It had all the material at hand and lacked only the ability to use it.

The South owed its inability to manufacture its own goods to slavery. Slave labor had not the brains to manufacture; it could only delve the soil. Free labor could not exist by the side of slave labor. Hence the rich minerals of the South were left in the earth, and the cotton mills were built in New England and Liverpool.

Thus slavery not only brought about secession and the war, but, the war once begun, it insured the ultimate success of the North. But the difference in resources between the two sections did not alone bring about the result. Nor was it superior generalship, or greater devotion of its soldiery. The North had more men and more money; it could work its own mines, make its own guns and clothing and machinery. These were valuable factors indeed in bringing victory; but there were other causes that contributed very greatly to northern success.

THE BLOCKADE

It was on April 19, that ominous date in American history which witnessed the first bloodshed of the Revolution and of the Civil War, which witnessed also the proclamation of peace by General Washington in 1783, and the resolution by Congress in 1898 authorizing the President to make war upon Spain in defence of downtrodden Cuba — it was on this day in 1861 that Abraham Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the ports of the seceded states.

The blockade seemed at first almost ridiculous; many did not take it seriously, and there was adequate ground for such a view of it. The United States navy at that time consisted of but forty-two wooden vessels, three-fourths of which were in foreign waters — scattered through various parts of the world. The blockade certainly seemed open to

the charge of being a paper blockade. Three thousand miles of coast to be blockaded by a nation whose entire navy could not have withstood one modern first-class battleship! Was it a great game of bluff? or was it the deliberate decision of a great mind?

Cortez, lying half dead with wounds and surrounded by a few half-hearted, defeated followers, was planning to take the Mexican capital — and he did it. His decision would have seemed folly to one who did not know the man. Hannibal determined to conquer Rome with a single army — and almost accomplished it. Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of three thousand miles of coast, and had no means to carry it into effect. The South laughed at his pretensions. The world was undecided whether it was the work of a dreamer or of a genius. Lincoln was still new to the world and he had not yet been classified. For some months the proclamation had but little effect on the southern coast. But ere long the vessels began to arrive from foreign waters, merchant vessels were fitted out and pressed into the service of the Government, the northern shipyards were in operation day and night turning out new vessels. First one port and then another was actually blockaded by armed vessels of war. At the beginning of the year 1862 an expedition fitted out in New York was sent southward under the command of General A. E. Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough. Albemarle Sound was soon closed to the commerce of the world. Newbern, the chief port of North Carolina, next fell into the hands of the northern fleet. Fort Macon met the same fate. Meantime the great Farragut had closed the Mississippi River. These operations all took place within the first year after the blockade had been instituted. The next year Charleston was hemmed in by a cordon of northern vessels, and the next witnessed the

fall of Mobile, and that port henceforth was closed. Thus month by month the grip of the blockade tightened, and the business of the blockade-runner became a perilous business. The freight rates charged by these runners rose to five hundred dollars per ton, and this meant, of course, that no bulky goods were conveyed in them. By the close of 1864 the Confederate States were hemmed in so effectually that they had little communication with the outside world. Great stacks of cotton piled along the seaboard could be bought for four cents a pound, while it was worth two dollars and fifty cents at Liverpool. A ton of salt, worth seven dollars and a half at Nassau, was worth seventeen hundred dollars in gold at Richmond. The South was in the greatest need of arms and many other articles, but it had not learned to manufacture them, nor could they be had from abroad. It was not possible for the people of the South to begin manufacturing on any great scale at this time, when nearly all their best men were in the army. They were therefore peculiarly distressed by the blockade.

It was not chiefly the depletion of the armies that weakened the South. It was the blockade that shut off the Confederate States from the markets of the world, that prevented the sale of cotton and tobacco, that bankrupted the treasury. It was the blockade, more than anything else, that brought about the ultimate exhaustion and collapse of the South. Had the markets of the world been open to the South, its conquest by the North would have been far more difficult.

THE BORDER STATES

The border states were those slave states lying nearest the free states — Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Ken-

tucky, and Missouri. Sometimes, also, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas were included among the border states, as distinguished from the cotton or Gulf states. During the war, however, the term usually referred to the four slave states that did not secede from the Union, — namely, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. Of the fifteen slave states, therefore, but eleven seceded. As between free and slave states, one of the latter, Delaware, was looked upon as almost a neutral. The form of slavery in this state was mild, nor was the size of the state such as to give it great importance in the conflict; but it was confidently expected by the South that the other three border states would join the Confederacy. In this hope they were disappointed, and in this fact lay one of the weaknesses of the South, and one of the important causes of northern success.

It was the skill of President Lincoln, above all things, that saved the border states from secession. When a large portion of the northern people were clamoring for immediate emancipation, the far-sighted President hesitated. So long did he hesitate, that many grew weary with waiting. Exasperated, they denounced him as slow and phlegmatic, and unfit to fill the great office at such a momentous period. They did not know that the sagacious Lincoln was hesitating for the wisest of reasons, one of which was his fear of offending the border states and driving them into the Confederacy. When the Hotspurs in Congress and elsewhere were denouncing the slaveholder and the institution of slavery in unmeasured terms, Lincoln was holding conferences with the leading men — slaveholders — of the border states. He urged them to lead their states to accept compensated emancipation, while at the same time he was planning to lead Congress to offer it. This judicious course of the

President was very effective in winning the good will of the border states and in holding them in the Union.

If, however, these four states had joined the Confederacy, the North would still have been much stronger than the South — greater in extent, greater in population and wealth. Nevertheless, the South would have gained an immense advantage. The material gain would have been great, the moral gain still greater. Had the entire fifteen slave states presented a solid front to the world, they would have won a respect that they could not do as it was. If the countries of Europe were contemplating a recognition of the Confederacy, they must have been checked by the fact that the slave states were not united. Again, throughout the North there was a strong feeling in various sections that the seceding states should be permitted to depart in peace. Horace Greeley and Henry Ward Beecher, with many lesser lights, shared this feeling. They were lovers of the Union, but their love of peace was still greater, and they would have seen the Union divided rather than enter into a bloody war to save it. Had all the slave states been united, and thus a still greater war been necessary to preserve the Union, this depart-in-peace feeling would have been much stronger and more widespread in the North — perhaps even so strong that public opinion would have prevented the raising of armies. On the whole, it is certain that one of the great causes of defeat to the South is found in the fact that the border states adhered to the Union.

FINANCES

A business man must be a financier. A nation must be a financier. However well a business man may know his business, however skilfully he may manage his employees,

however great his industry and devotion to duty, if he has not a keen sense of financial management, he will go to the wall. A nation may have vast resources and great armies and able commanders; but if it cannot skilfully handle its finances, all these will count for little in the prosecution of a great war. No government is secure unless it rests on a sound financial basis. This is true for all times, but pre-eminently so for a time of war.

During the eventful years of the early sixties the North achieved a great success, not only in the triumph of its arms, in the success of the blockade, in the holding of border states, but also in the management of its money matters; and herein lay one of the secrets of its strength, one of the prime factors that brought victory in the end.

During the year 1861 the credit of the United States was very low. When, near the close of that year, the gigantic struggle reached its height, the outlook for the Union was gloomy; and if the Union was to be shattered into fragments, who would venture to invest his gold with such a government? The financial world stood aloof. The markets of Europe were closed to our bonds. Germany purchased a few; France and England refused to touch them. Moreover, our expenses exceeded a million dollars a day, and if all the coin in the country had been poured into the treasury, it would not have supplied the need of the Government for three months. At this critical time the Midas touch of a great financier, Salmon P. Chase, began to be felt. Under his leadership Congress in February, 1862, authorized the issuance of one hundred and fifty million dollars in notes, which came to be called greenbacks. This was increased from time to time until it reached an aggregate of four hundred and fifty millions. This paper depreciated somewhat below the gold standard, it is true, but the people

received it gladly, and never seemed to doubt that the Government would ultimately redeem it dollar for dollar — and so it did.[1]

Another brilliant financial stroke was the creating of the national bank in 1863 to take the place of the state banks and private banks.

A national bank was obliged to deposit United States bonds for all the paper it issued, and, if the bank should fail, the bonds would protect the holder of the notes from loss. Thus the Government, by laying its hand on the people's money, that issued by their local institutions, and becoming responsible for it, strengthened the confidence on every hand. This banking system continued to operate until the passing of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913.

The credit of the United States rose as the war progressed, especially after midsummer, 1863, when all the world saw that the final triumph of the North was no longer uncertain. This confidence, inspired on all sides, enabled the Government to secure all the money and supplies it needed. How great the contrast between this condition and the condition of the South! The Confederacy issued paper

[1] The wisdom of the Government in issuing paper money irredeemable in coin at the time is questioned by many leading financiers and historians. Ordinarily such a course would certainly be unwise; but in such a great emergency, when large amounts of money are absolutely necessary and specie is not to be had, such a course is permissible. The Government had not the specie at the time to redeem its notes; but it had vast wealth in lands and mines and manufactories, and, above all, it had the confidence of the people. If a people are willing to accept their government's paper, trusting to its future redemption, who can come forward and say the government has no right to issue it? It is not always possible for a government to maintain a gold standard in time of war.

The act of Congress, however, making the greenbacks legal tender and thus forcing their use in private contracts, was unnecessary, and, if not unconstitutional, at least extra-constitutional; nor was it necessary to insure the acceptance of the paper by the people. The real value of the notes depended, not on the Legal Tender Act, but on the Government's stamp, its receiving them in payments to itself, and in the people's confidence in its ability and disposition to redeem them.

money also in large sums, but, owing to the gloomy outlook during the last two years of the war, and to the isolation of the South occasioned by the blockade, its paper money depreciated until it became worthless. This vast difference between the financial bases of the two sections had much to do with the success of the one and the failure of the other.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Foreign relations and foreign commerce are necessary to our modern civilization. The increased wants of war times make this doubly true. The failure of the South in the Civil War was, as before stated, due to its want of foreign relations more than to any other cause. The North, on the other hand, might have dispensed with all foreign commerce and still succeeded, because of its ability to supply its own wants. There is another phase of the subject, however, that presents a different aspect. It was absolutely necessary that the United States Government prevent the recognition of the Confederate Government by the European powers. In this it succeeded, and herein lies the great importance of our foreign relations during the war.

Had any great European power recognized the South, it might have been fatal to the Union. If England, for example, had recognized the independence of a portion of the United States, it would have meant immediate war against that country. Great Britain therefore would have espoused the cause of the South, and would have poured her armies, her munitions of war, her food supplies and clothing, into the southern states without limit; for our blockade could not have withstood the assaults of any one of the great powers of Europe. The southerners would have found immediate sale for their cotton and tobacco; their armies would have been well equipped, their treasury filled, and

their little navy augmented by the powerful navy of England. What would have been the result? Could the Union have been saved and slavery destroyed? We hardly think so.

Again it was the sagacity of the great war President that saved the Union. At the very beginning of hostilities, when England and France so promptly acknowledged the belligerent rights of the Confederacy, even before our minister, Charles Francis Adams, could reach London, President Lincoln decided to pocket the insult and continue our friendly relations with those countries.

When the *Trent* affair stirred public feeling on both sides of the Atlantic; when the American people rejoiced at the clever capture of the Confederate ministers, and the British public was shocked to indignation at the boldness of the act; when, a little later, the British Government demanded the release of the two Confederate prisoners and gave every indication of its readiness to mobilize armies; when the American people, remembering the impressment of seamen in the early part of the century, and believing that British sentiment was unfriendly to the Union cause, began to clamor for a war with England; then it was that Lincoln, with the stroke of a master hand, and for once without consulting public opinion, settled the whole matter and averted all danger by quietly acceding to the British demand and releasing the prisoners.

Again, when the President held under advisement the Emancipation Proclamation, when many urged him to issue it, and, for the best of reasons, as above noted, he hesitated, he at length issued it, — knowing, as he said, that it would not bring freedom to the slaves, — one of his avowed objects was to produce a moral effect on Europe. And he succeeded. The countries of Europe at first generally sympathized with the South. The primary reason was that they desired to

trade with the cotton states on a free-trade basis, and this would have been their privilege had the South succeeded in the war. Many believed also that a feeling of jealousy, on account of the marvelous growth of the great Republic, and a desire to see it divided, played a considerable part in formulating European sympathy with the South. But there was one thing that checked southern sympathy from abroad — slavery. The nations of Europe had emancipated their slaves long before; they disliked human bondage, and this feeling doubtless prevented the early recognition of the Confederacy by the European Powers.

As long as the North fought for the Union alone it received little sympathy from across the Atlantic. Europe cared little about preserving the Union. But as soon as the North proclaimed to the world that it was battling against slavery as well as against disunion, the sympathies of mankind were turned in its favor. President Lincoln, therefore, dealt a master-stroke when he brought forth his great proclamation.

Still, again, Lincoln favored the choice of Andrew Johnson as his running-mate in 1864. The choice was unfortunate, as it proved, but the motive, the object in making it, was wise and thoughtful. Lincoln saw that, by choosing this Tennesseean from the very heart of the Confederacy for the second office in the Government, it would be shown to the world that the country was not in reality divided, but simply engaged in putting down an internal uprising.

The services of Abraham Lincoln to the country during the war are beyond all calculation. It is certainly true, judging from a human point of view, that the Revolution could not have succeeded without Washington. Many believe also that without Lincoln the southern cause might have succeeded, and that the United States would have been severed in twain.

CHAPTER VIII

Reconstruction

When Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781 and the long and dreary war was over — a prolonged shout of gladness filled the land. The joy of the people was unbounded at their success in throwing off the British yoke, and they little realized that to secure a substantial government at home and a national standing in the eyes of the world would require a far longer, and scarcely less fierce, struggle than the one through which they had just passed.

The war between the states ended with Appomattox. The struggle had been desperate and long, but it was not over. The bloodshed, the field-fighting, was over, but there was another conflict at hand, equally fierce of its kind, and it was to continue even longer than the struggle with arms had continued. This period is known as the Reconstruction Period. It covered the six years immediately following the war, and within this time occurred the rupture between the President and Congress, which is treated in another chapter.

A NEW PROBLEM

At the close of the Civil War a problem confronted the American Government that had no precedent in history, namely, the status of the seceded states and how to get them back into their proper places in the Union. One of the first questions that arose was whether these states were really out of the Union or not. Much eloquence was wasted on this abstract theme, some taking the ground that the

acts of secession were null and void, others that as a matter of fact the Union was really broken up for a time and afterward made whole again. Professor Goldwin Smith, one of the profoundest of modern writers, pronounces the war, not a civil war, but a war between two nations — one short-lived, it is true, but nevertheless a nation with all the machinery of self-government.[1] From the standpoint of *fact* this view is certainly correct. But for once we must brush aside actual fact and look at the matter in another light. From the standpoint of constitutional law, the seceding states *must* not have been out of the Union. If they were, Andrew Johnson the Tennesseean was not a resident or a citizen of the United States, and of course was not a legal President. If they were, every child born in the seceded states during the war period was alien born and none was henceforth eligible to the presidency.

Hence we are forced to take the ground that the southern states were not out of the Union, and that secession did not sever, but only suspended, their relation to the United States. The later Supreme Court decision that our country is "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States" [2] is sound in law, and will ever be so in fact unless some future revolution proves successful.

As far, however, as reconstruction was concerned, there was little difference which theory one held. The great question was how to get the straying sisters back into the family. On this subject there was a wide difference of opinion among those by whom the work was to be done. One party favored readmitting the southern states as noiselessly and easily as possible. This class, if they had any feeling of malice toward the South, were willing to throw it

[1] See his *United States*, p. 249.
[2] Texas *vs.* White, 1868.

aside at the close of hostilities. To this class belonged President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, and Generals Grant and Sherman; it also included many other broad-minded, leading men of the North who had done all in their power to put down the rebellion.

The other party was more radical. It was composed of men who nursed their wrath to keep it warm, who wished to punish the South further after defeating it in battle, who refused to forgive the southern people until they would confess themselves wholly in the wrong and abjectly beg forgiveness.

This was demanding too much. The people of the South were undoubtedly sincere in their devotion to the cause in which they fought. Granted that they were honest in their convictions, could it be expected that they would instantly abandon them on being defeated by force of arms? Could they be expected to trample the graves and execrate the memory of their fathers who had so recently fallen in the cause in which they believed so fondly? No student of human nature could expect such a thing. The people of the South are now, with rare exceptions, content with the results of the war; they rejoice that the Union was not divided; but this condition could not reasonably have been looked for in 1865, nor was it possible for Congress, by any methods of coercion, to bring about such a condition. Matters of the heart and of the conscience are wholly beyond the reach of legislative acts. Many of the leading members of Congress did not realize this great truth. Many seemed to be peculiarly wanting in the magnanimity toward a fallen foe that characterizes a great mind.

Furthermore, it was bad public policy to drive the best blood of the South into further opposition by severe measures. Said General Sherman: "I perceived that we had

the unbounded respect of our armed enemies. . . . I am sure that at the close of the Civil War the Confederate army embraced the best governed, the best disposed, the most reliable men in the South; and I would have used them in reconstruction instead of driving them into a hopeless opposition." In this light Mr. Lincoln also viewed the matter; but not so with many of the leaders in Congress, and the result was a serious rupture between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND CONGRESS AT VARIANCE

President Lincoln wielded, during the war, almost imperial power. No Englishman, since Oliver Cromwell, says James Bryce, has had such authority. Our Constitution clothes the President with a war power that is almost without limit. Lincoln used this vast power to save the Union, but there is no evidence that selfish ambition or motives of revenge entered into his action at all. As he had full command of the army and navy of the United States to put down the rebellion, he also felt that it was his duty and lay within his authority to make overtures to the seceded states with a view of restoring their relations to the Union. Accordingly, as early as December, 1863, he issued a proclamation offering amnesty with full property rights, except as to slaves, to all (except certain leading classes) if they would take the oath of allegiance to the United States. He also declared that a state might resume its relations with the Government when one-tenth of the voters of 1860, having taken the oath, would set up a state government. At the same time he cautiously stated that the admission of their senators and representatives in Congress "rested with the two Houses, and not to any extent with the Executive."

No one who knew the man could doubt that the motives

of Lincoln were of the best, and that what he did was meant for the highest public good. It is certain that he bore no personal malice toward the southern people. "I shall do nothing in malice. What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing," were his words.

Louisiana was the first to take advantage of the President's offer. In February, 1864, an election of the loyal whites of the state took place. Mr. Hahn was chosen governor and members of Congress were elected. In April a state convention, called for the purpose, framed a new state constitution in which slavery was forever forbidden in the state. But little over eight thousand votes had been cast in the election — a little more than one-tenth of the Presidential vote of the state in 1860. The weakness of this new government lay in the fact that it could not sustain itself without military support.[1] The plan as inaugurated by Mr. Lincoln was known henceforth as the Louisiana plan.

While this work was going on in Louisiana a similar movement was in progress in Arkansas. A governor was elected, an antislavery constitution adopted, and senators and representatives elected to Congress.

But there was one item that the President had not taken into account when he directed and encouraged these states to do as they did, and that was the temper of Congress. It was soon discovered that both the Senate and House were unfriendly, not to say hostile, to Lincoln's "shorthand method of reconstruction," as they called it. When, therefore, the senators-elect from Arkansas presented themselves to the Senate they were peremptorily refused admission, the opposition being led by Charles Sumner. Soon afterward this Congress passed a bill giving its views of reconstruction. This bill was far more severe and exacting than was the

[1] Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, p. 40.

Louisiana plan. The chief provisions of this measure were as follows: that the President appoint a provisional governor for each rebellious state; that this governor, after all resistance to the United States had ceased within the bounds of the state, should submit a test oath to the white male citizens to support the Constitution of the United States, and not until after a *majority* of them had taken this oath could they form a state constitution. When a constitution was adopted, the main features of which were mapped out in the congressional bill, the governor was to certify the fact to the President, after which the latter should recognize the state government *after obtaining the consent of Congress.*

This measure was in itself a severe condemnation of the policy of the President. It was passed and sent to him on July 4, 1864, the last day of the session. But Mr. Lincoln was not in the humor to suffer such a rebuke from Congress. He treated the bill to a pocket veto.[1] A few days after the adjournment of Congress he issued a proclamation in which he stated that he was not prepared to declare the governments already adopted in Louisiana and Arkansas set aside, nor was he prepared to acknowledge the competency of Congress to make the exactions as contained in the bill. Had Congress been in session a most serious breach between it and the President would have been precipitated; but the members had gone to their homes and would not meet again for several months. Moreover, the country was in the midst of a presidential campaign. Mr. Lincoln had been renominated, and any hostile demonstration against him from the leaders of his party might have proved disastrous.

[1] The Constitution provides that a congressional bill must be signed or vetoed by the President within ten days after its passage. If he does neither, it will become a law without his signature. This, however, does not apply when Congress adjourns within the ten days. If in that case the President withholds his signature, the bill does not become law. This is called a pocket veto.

Most of them remained passive, especially when they discovered that the hearts of the people were with the President.

But there were two notable exceptions. Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio and Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, respective chairmen of the Senate and House committees on rebellious states, came out in most vigorous protest against the action of the President. This paper was published broadcast over the signatures of the two statesmen. It was a remarkable document. It arraigned Mr. Lincoln in the most caustic and severe language, reminding him that the Union men in Congress "would not submit to be impeached of rash and unconstitutional legislation," and that he "must confine himself to his executive duties — to obey and execute, and not to make the laws."

A short time after this paper had been published Mr. Davis sought a renomination for Congress, but was defeated. This, in slaveholding Maryland, was an index to the reception of the protest by the country. It served to rouse Lincoln's friends on all sides, and doubtless contributed to his great majority at the polls.

On the convening of Congress in December the President wisely refrained from making any reference to the recent controversy or to the subject of reconstruction. Later in the session Congress passed a joint resolution declaring certain states (Louisiana and Arkansas) not entitled to representation in the electoral college. This was intended as a slap at the President, but he headed them off by signing the resolution and stating at the same time that he considered it wholly unnecessary, as Congress already had the sole power of counting electoral votes. His language was sarcastic and unanswerable.

President Lincoln adhered to his plan of reconstruction with the greatest tenacity. In a speech made on April 11, he reviewed at length his Louisiana plan, stating just what he had done and why he did it. He explained how unwise it would be to reject and spurn the loyal people of the South in their endeavors to bring their erring states back into the Union fold. With these words he closed: "It may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper." But his new announcement was never made. Four days after he gave the promise the great President was dead.

THE NEW PRESIDENT AND THE OLD PLAN

At the moment when this quarrel between the Executive and Congress was assuming alarming proportions, Andrew Johnson stepped forth upon the public stage as the chief officer in the land. Twice before had the Vice-President succeeded to the presidency, and in each case the policy of the Government on the leading public questions was radically changed. And it seemed indeed that the same would be true in the present case, for at first Johnson did little but breathe out threatenings against the leaders of the rebellion. His language was extravagant and undignified, and marked a painful contrast with that of the ever humane, the ever self-possessed Lincoln.

But Johnson's attitude of hostility toward the South was of short duration. He came under the influence of a master mind, and, according to the inevitable law of nature, the less yielded to the greater. William H. Seward had been retained by him as Secretary of State. Seward, like Lincoln, was too great, too magnanimous, to entertain a feeling of spite toward the conquered states, and it is believed that

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it through the death of another — this man now accomplished the great task in a few weeks, and triumphantly laid the finished work before the country.

But Johnson reckoned without his host. If Congress had the temerity to oppose Lincoln, would it not far more readily set its hand against this accidental President? Lincoln might have won in defiance of Congress. His power with the people was great. He had won the northern heart, and was loved as few Presidents have ever been loved. Had Congress continued recalcitrant, he might have successfully appealed to the higher court, the great national tribunal — the people. But Johnson was nobody's idol. He had not won the heart of the people, and there was none to whom he could appeal. Moreover, Lincoln was a man of consummate tact, and when assaulted by his enemies, he was able to evade the blows or to neutralize their force with his incomparable wit. Johnson lacked all this; he was brave and pugnacious, but wholly wanting in tact.

On the meeting of Congress in December it was at once seen that the members were unwilling to accept Andrew Johnson as their guide, and that his entire work of reconstruction would be overthrown. The reason for their taking this extreme position was that the South, as they claimed, was still unregenerate, and had not brought forth fruit meet for repentance. And there was certainly some ground for this claim.

Some of the southern states, believing that Johnson's scheme of reconstruction would be accepted by the country, and thus expecting to get back into the Union with little friction and almost no humiliation to themselves, began to frame laws that were little short of vicious against the freedmen. In Mississippi a law was passed providing that young negroes who had no home or visible support be apprenticed,

the males until twenty-one and the females until eighteen years of age. The master was to have power to inflict moderate corporal punishment and to reclaim fugitives. Vagrants were to be arrested and fined, and, if unable to pay the fine, hired out to the highest bidder. In South Carolina a similar code was adopted, and to this was added a law that no person of color should be a mechanic without paying a fee of ten dollars a year, or a storekeeper or peddler except by paying one hundred dollars a year. No negro could enter the state without giving bonds for his good behavior. In Louisiana negroes were to sign, before January 10, each year, a written contract to labor a year; and any one breaking such contract was to labor on public works. These are samples of legislation in several of the southern states just before the meeting of Congress in December, 1865. It was necessary, indeed, for the South to take some special action in regard to the newly emancipated race. The race was landless, penniless, without education, and incapable of self-government. The South had before it a vast problem to solve, and had it used moderation at the beginning, it would have enlisted the sympathy of the world; but the laws above mentioned, with numerous others, were so palpably discriminating against the black man that the framers of them placed a decided check on the rising sympathies in their favor. Their action seemed to many little short of an attempt to reënslave the black man.

This attitude toward the negro as shown in several southern states became a powerful stimulus to Congress in demolishing the work of Andrew Johnson, and in instituting reconstruction on an entirely different and more radical basis.

When Congress met the members-elect from the lately rebellious states were present and expected to be admitted, but in the roll-call of the House those states were not even

mentioned. Immediately on the election of a speaker, Thaddeus Stevens, who from this time to his death, three years later, was the acknowledged leader of the House, moved that a joint committee of the House and Senate be appointed to inquire into the condition of the seceded states, and until this committee make its report no member be received by either House from those states. All debate was shut off by the "previous question," and the resolution was carried even before the annual message had been received. This was the first step toward congressional reconstruction, and in taking it Congress utterly ignored the work of Johnson. Indeed, they proceeded just as if no such personage as the President of the United States existed. The Senate, led by Sumner, was equally decided in its action. Johnson, instead of bowing to the will of Congress, showed fight. He lost his temper, his dignity, his self-control, and as the contest grew more open and bitter he stooped to make personal attacks in public speeches on the leading legislators, naming Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, and Wendell Phillips as the leading disunionists of the North, and pretending to believe that these were desirous of having him assassinated. This was a departure from ordinary presidential dignity so radical as to produce a shock. It served to cement the President's opponents against him, and rendered all future reconciliation out of the question.

THE GREAT RECONSTRUCTION ACT

It is impossible in our brief chapter to follow minutely the debate in Congress on this great subject of reconstruction. This debate was one of the longest and most exciting in the history of Congress. It began in the House on December 18, when Stevens made a radical speech in which he declared that the seceded states were nothing more than conquered

territory; they were practically dead states,[1] and must be readmitted as new territory or be held in subjection at the will of their conquerors. Stevens was answered a few days later by Henry J. Raymond, the brilliant founder and editor of the *New York Times*. Raymond was the warm friend of Seward, and his object was to divide the Republican party in the House of Representatives, and to lead a portion of it to the support of the Administration. In this he was not successful.

In the Senate the winter was occupied with the same subject, the majority of the Republicans, led by the two Massachusetts Senators, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, taking a decided stand against the President. The long session of Congress wore away and little was done. Congress had proposed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and had made its adoption by the southern states the condition of their restoration. This amendment forbade the payment of any debt contracted through rebellion against the Union by the United States or by any state; it defined citizenship, obliterating the color line; it held out a strong inducement to the states to enfranchise the negro by reducing the representation in Congress in accordance with any abridgment of the right to vote by a state of any class of citizens; and on the whole it practically transferred the first allegiance of the citizen from his state to the United States.

One of the eleven wanderers, Tennessee, took advantage of this invitation to get back into the fold. The rest held

[1] Stevens was extremely radical. In a speech at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he advocated confiscating the property of all rebels worth $10,000 or upward, or who owned two hundred acres of land or more — the land to be divided among the negroes and the money to be used in paying the national debt. He also favored adopting the Thirteenth Amendment without counting the seceded states. But Congress was unwilling to follow him to such extremes.

aloof. The summer passed. The congressional elections in the autumn of 1866 produced a large majority against the Administration. But Andrew Johnson was not the man to listen to admonition from any source when his mind was set on anything. Had Johnson, on learning the result of the elections, bowed himself to the great master, the people, and said, Thy will be done, and then modified his policy in accordance with that will, his name in American history would now have a meaning that it can never have. But Johnson adhered tenaciously to his plans. The southern states took courage. They seemed to believe that the President would win in the end, and the entire ten, through their respective legislatures, deliberately rejected the Fourteenth Amendment.

Congress looked upon this as a defiance of its power, a declaration of war, and from this time the battle became more desperate. Congress tightened its grip. The feeling against the South rose in parts of the North until it reached almost the pitch attained in 1861.

It was in February, 1867, that Thaddeus Stevens moved in the House the great Reconstruction Act, which provided that the ten southern states be divided into five military districts, and that an officer with an army be sent into each district and entirely supplant the civil governments already there. This bill was debated in House and Senate for some weeks, amended, passed, sent to the President, vetoed, and repassed on March 2, and two days later the Thirty-ninth Congress expired. But instead of taking the usual vacation of nine months, it was resolved that the Fortieth Congress meet at the moment when the old Congress expired. This was done to head off the President, for it was believed that he would not carry out the late enactments satisfactorily, if left wholly in his hands.

Before the close of March a supplementary reconstruction bill was passed, as the first was incomplete. This second bill directed the military governor of each district to make a registration of all the male citizens of the several states, submit to them a prescribed oath, and to call an election for a constitutional convention. At this election only those taking the oath were permitted to vote. If they voted to call a convention, and this convention framed a state constitution in conformity with the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment, and this constitution was ratified by the people and afterward approved by Congress, said state would therefore be readmitted into the Union, after its legislature had also ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.

Within a year and a half after thus placing the South under military control, seven of the ten states had complied with the conditions and were readmitted to the Union. Three, however — Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas — still held aloof, and by so doing they denied themselves the opportunity of taking part in the presidential election of 1868. And more, the Fifteenth Amendment was now before the people, and the three hesitating states were obliged to ratify it before reëntering the Union. This they eventually did, and all were readmitted before the close of the year 1870. Meantime, however, the legislature of Georgia had forfeited the claim of that state to membership by pronouncing the negro ineligible to hold office. This act had to be repealed, and it was not until January, 1871, that all the seceding states were represented in Congress.

Thus at last reconstruction was accomplished. The problem to be solved had been a momentous one. It had engendered a bitterness of feeling scarcely surpassed during the war. It had brought about more drastic legislation than our country had before known in time of peace. But now

it was finished, the great war was over, slavery had perished, and all the states had again resumed their normal position in the Government, and all the people rejoiced. But matters were not yet all right in the South.

CARPET-BAGGERS AND SCALAWAGS

When reconstruction was fully accomplished and the military army withdrawn from the South, there was yet much to be done. The newly admitted states had to be governed and somebody must take the lead and fill the offices. The old antebellum leaders in politics had also been leaders in rebellion, and they were now disabled from taking part in the governments of their respective states; they were not yet pardoned. The freedmen were not fitted to lead in governmental affairs, and the outcome was that a class of unscrupulous adventurers from the North, packing up their worldly goods in a carpet-bag, it was said, went to the South, won the negro voter by their blandishments, and soon had the state governments under their control. These men were called the "carpet-baggers."

The carpet-bag governments, with few exceptions, were corrupt and scandalous. The state treasuries were plundered, after which bonds were issued and enormous state debts contracted. In South Carolina the public debt rose from five million to thirty million dollars in four years, and there was nothing of importance to show for the expenditure of the money. Several other states were similarly plundered. The negroes were easily led into the corrupt business of looting the treasuries, but the carpet-bagger always managed to get the lion's share. Here and there an unscrupulous ex-rebel would join the thieving gang for the plunder there was in it. Such were called "scalawags."

The respectable whites of the South stood aghast at the further impoverishing of their already bankrupt states. Some sulked in their tents and refused even to protest against it; some formed a secret organization known as the Ku Klux Klan and through it wreaked vengeance on the black voter. The carpet-bag governments were under national protection. The Republican party as a whole was blamed, whereas only a comparative few were guilty. The result was that the white Republicans of the South, and they numbered many thousands, were alienated from the party. The seceded states had furnished at least one hundred thousand white Union men of the "Parson" Brownlow type. Most of these at the close of the war adhered to the Republican party; but now, almost to a man, they turned fiercely against that party and joined the Democrats. From this time on for many years the South was known as the "solid" South, and it was the carpet-bag rule, above all other causes, that made it solid.

THE RACE PROBLEM

On the disappearance of carpet-bag rule the southern states were soon again in the hands of the white men. This was the most natural thing, even where the blacks outnumbered them. Had the black race, just emerging from centuries of bondage and of gross ignorance, continued to govern their former masters as well as themselves, a spectacle would have been presented to the world without a parallel in human history. The white race had labored for centuries to attain self-government; and besides, the whites of the South owned nineteen-twentieths of all the property, and more. Could it be expected that all the brains and wealth of a state be governed by a homeless class of men who paid less than one per cent of the taxes, and who knew not

even the first principles of self-government? Such a thing is altogether unknown in the history of human government. England rules India, not by numbers, but by brains. However much we may deplore the fact that the black man was denied a fair vote in the South, and that injustice was often done him, the result on the whole was the only possible, natural result. Wherever intelligence and property on the one hand come into contact with ignorance and poverty on the other, the former will govern — honestly perhaps, if possible, but nevertheless it will govern. The same would be true in the North or anywhere else with the same environment. The black man can become equal to the white man in the government of the South only when he makes himself an equal force in civilization.

Again, the social relation of the races in the South is a problem that the South itself must work out. It cannot be done by legislation or by military pressure. It is folly to attempt to draw an arbitrary line and enforce its adoption. Nature has already drawn the line.

This social problem in the South is a delicate and serious one. Since the close of the war there have been jostlings and fitting and refitting, adjusting and readjusting of the two races, but the problem is by no means fully solved. Perhaps it can never be that the two races stand together socially. Why should it be so? The white man is not at home in the colored man's drawing-room, nor vice versa. Let them come together in harmony in governmental and business affairs, but let the social line that Nature has drawn be respected. Let the black man elevate his own society and be content with it. Why should he not then be as proud of the society in which he moves as his white neighbor is of his? Until this natural difference between the races is properly recognized, the great problem cannot be solved.

The last two amendments to the Constitution place the black man on the same legal footing with his white brother. His school advantages are generally good. What more can be done for him? Neither constitutions nor congresses can legislate him into social position. He must make that for himself.

The future of the negro rests largely in his own hands. The great curse of the race to-day is not a want of a free ballot, but a want of ambition, a want of aspiration to do something and to be somebody.

Many put little value on their freedom;[1] others value it for the license it gives them. Liberty is a priceless blessing to the aspiring, but to the profligate, black or white, it is a curse. Many of the southern blacks are of the listless, doless, aimless class who are content to live in squalor and ignorance. But it is gratifying to note that there are many exceptions to this rule, many who are striving with a laudable ambition to rise in the scale of civilization. If the bulk of the race would follow the guidance of such aspiring leaders as the late Booker T. Washington, the race question would soon cease to be troublesome.

Now a closing word on the results of reconstruction. While it is true that the governments set up in the southern states by Congress were corrupt and of short duration, while it is impossible to sympathize with such extremists as Stevens and Sumner, it is nevertheless true that congressional reconstruction contained a few good features. It was absolutely necessary for the future welfare of the South and

[1] The writer, in talking with an aged colored laborer on the streets of Philadelphia, asked him how he liked this life compared with old slavery days. The old man, who had been a slave for many years before the war, braced himself up and said, "'Mancipation may be good 'nough fer some, but fer me, gimme back de ole slavery days, fer then I didn't haf ter buy de flour and de coal an' pay de doctor's bill." This condition may be excusable in one of his age, but such lack of ambition in the young is fatal to all progress.

of the nation that some safeguards be thrown around the freedmen. Congressional reconstruction, however, was undone during the thirty or forty years following the war, and the Fifteenth Amendment, giving the colored race the ballot, has never been operative in the South.

CHAPTER IX

Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson

History furnishes many examples of a people rising against their sovereign and putting him to death or dethroning him; but it is rare indeed that we find the official head of a nation placed on trial for his official life in time of peace, and in a legal manner by those who have a constitutional right to do so. The most conspicuous example of this in history was the trial of President Johnson by the United States Senate in the spring of 1868. He had been impeached by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors, and, after a trial by the highest legislative body in America according to the forms of law, was acquitted. The proceedings attracted world-wide attention.

The latter years of the preceding century had witnessed the impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings by the British House of Commons. The trial of Hastings, conducted with much pomp and ceremony, extending over several years, and enlivened by the matchless eloquence of Edmund Burke, was a most imposing and momentous event, and attracted the attention of the world. But the trial of Andrew Johnson was an event of vaster significance. The eloquence of a Burke was wanting, but the intensity of feeling far exceeded that of the English trial; and the outcome would have been far more momentous in case of conviction.

ANDREW JOHNSON

Andrew Johnson was the third of our accidental presidents, the third also of the presidents born in North Carolina and elected from Tennessee. Among our chief magistrates who rose from the lower strata of society, he is the most striking example. Other presidents we have had who rose from the common walks of life — there were Jackson and Polk, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, and others. But Jackson had taught a country school and was a law student at an age when Johnson had not learned to read; Lincoln was a careful reader of books while yet a boy; Grant was graduated at West Point; and Garfield took a college degree in his early manhood.

Andrew Johnson was not only penniless and wholly without social standing, he was also illiterate. He belonged to the class of "poor whites" of the South, who were regarded by the ruling classes as scarcely above the slave. A tailor by trade, industrious, of a rugged personality, honest, ambitious, and aspiring, he grasped for the little knowledge within his reach. Barely able to read when married, he had in his wife his first and only teacher. He studied faithfully under her directions and soon acquired a good working education. Becoming interested in politics, he was sent to the legislature of his adopted state, from which, after several years' service, he was promoted to the Congress of the United States. Entering the House in 1843 at the age of thirty-five, he served ten years and became governor of Tennessee. After serving four years in this capacity he was elected by the legislature to the United States Senate, where we find him at the outbreak of the Civil War.

Of the twenty-two senators from the seceding states, Andrew Johnson alone remained faithful to the Union.

Thus he attracted the attention of the country; his object, however, was not to attract attention, but to put down the rebellious slaveholder, to save the Union. His patriotism was without a flaw. His courage rose to the heroic. On one occasion he kept at bay a mob thirsting for his blood by the defiant glare of his eyes. But his courage was of the bulldog character. To the better part of valor, discretion, he was a stranger. He was pugnacious by nature, seemed to enjoy combat, and continued to fight after he was beaten, without knowing he was beaten.

He had always been a Democrat, but he won the good will of all Republicans by his heroic stand for the Union in 1861 — especially the good will of Lincoln, who made him military governor of Tennessee the following year. In 1864 he was chosen as Lincoln's running-mate on the national ticket, and elected. His brief inaugural address when sworn in as Vice-President made a bad impression. It was plainly the rambling, incoherent harangue of a drunken man. Many, who did not know him well, trembled when they thought of the possibility of his becoming President. But there was no cause for alarm on that score. Johnson was not a drunkard. He had accidentally taken too much brandy that morning, in a medicinal way. Ordinarily Johnson was a temperate and sober man. Lincoln, hearing of the episode, exclaimed, "Andy made a bad slip the other day, but don't be scared; Andy isn't a drunkard."[1]

In less than six weeks after the inauguration Lincoln had fallen a victim of the assassin and Johnson was President. In ordinary times he might have made a good President. But the times were inauspicious. The war was over, but the blood of the combatants still boiled; the state of the country was the worst it had ever been in time of peace.

[1] McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, p. 373.

Moreover, the whole machinery of government had been temporarily thrown out of balance by the death of the great civil captain who had piloted the ship through the storms of civil war.

Andrew Johnson was ill fitted to take the helm at such a moment. With all his honesty, his good intentions, his patriotism, it would have been hard to find one less capable of filling the great office than this egotistic, self-willed, tactless man from Tennessee.

The strife between President Johnson and Congress began with the meeting of Congress in December, 1865. It grew in intensity month by month for two and a half years, when the crisis was reached. This hostility between the executive and legislative branches of the Government, beginning with their different policies on reconstruction, as narrated in the preceding chapter, was intensified by the President's veto of the Civil Rights Bill in April, 1866,[1] and of many other important acts of Congress, and also by the many intemperate speeches made by the President denouncing Congress in the most violent language. But the crisis came in the spring of 1868.

TENURE OF OFFICE ACT

The Constitution provides that a large number of high officials of the Government be appointed by the President, and that such appointments be ratified or rejected by the Senate. But by common consent all such officials were subject to removal at the dictum of the President alone. This power of the President was never questioned until 1867, when Congress passed a law requiring the consent of the Senate for removals as well as appointments. The act,

[1] Passed over the veto.

known as the Tenure of Office Bill,[1] was born of personal feeling against President Johnson, whose power and influence Congress wished to curb in every possible way.

While the bill was under consideration, the question as to whether it should apply to cabinet officers came up and was seriously debated. The Senate favored exempting cabinet officers, but the House insisted that they be included, and carried its point; not, however, without bringing forth some very significant expressions from leading senators. Mr. John Sherman stated that, if any cabinet officer was so wanting in manhood and honor as to hold his place after the politest intimation from his chief that his services were no longer needed, he (Sherman) would consent to his removal at any time. Similar expressions were heard from Senator Fessenden and others. It was then agreed by the leaders of both Houses that with reference to cabinet officers, the bill should be construed to apply only to those who were appointed by the acting President. This was discussed by Johnson and his cabinet, and they all, including Mr. Stanton, agreed that the law did not apply to them because they had been appointed, not by Johnson, but by Lincoln.

All went well in Johnson's cabinet for about a year after his elevation to the presidency. In the spring of 1866, three members of the cabinet, who sided with Congress on reconstruction, tendered their resignations, which were reluctantly accepted. Secretary of War Stanton also sympathized with Congress, but refused to resign. His presence became obnoxious in the executive councils; he was no longer a confidential adviser to the President, as a cabinet minister is supposed to be; he was an enemy and a spy. Mr. Stanton was advised by his friends to stick, and he did so, contrary

[1] This act was modified a few years later at the suggestion of President Grant, and was repealed in 1887. Again the matter came up and the Supreme Court decided (1927) that the sole power of removal rests with the President.

to all precedent. So matters continued until August, when President Johnson addressed the following brief note to his Secretary of War: "Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted." Stanton's reply was equally to the point: "Public considerations of a high character . . . constrain me not to resign the Secretaryship of War before the next meeting of Congress." A week later the President removed Stanton and appointed General Grant secretary *ad interim*. This was not a violation of the Tenure of Office Act, even if it applied to Johnson's cabinet, as that law provided that the President might suspend an undesirable official during the recess of Congress; but it also provided that he must report his action to the Senate on its meeting. If the Senate approved his action, it stood; if it disapproved, the old official resumed his place. In December Johnson reported to the Senate what he had done, giving his reasons for so doing. The Senate considered the matter, and voted not to concur in this suspension of Stanton. There can be but one explanation for this action of the Senate. It arose from malicious feeling of the senators against Andrew Johnson. The welfare of the public service could have had nothing to do with it, for General Grant, who served *ad interim*, was quite as competent to do the work as Stanton, nor was there any public demand for his removal, as at that moment he was the most popular man in the United States. On receiving the news of the action of the Senate, Grant immediately abandoned the office, and Stanton resumed his old place.

President Johnson was astonished at the course of the Senate. For the first time in the history of the Government the President had forced upon him a confidential adviser who was personally distasteful to him. No one

looking back from this date can come to any other conclusion than that the Senate was in the wrong, and was actuated by ignoble motives.[1] Johnson at this point made another of his many blunders. He made an enemy of General Grant by chiding him for giving up the office too readily when he, the President, desired to test the validity of the Tenure of Office Act through this case by an appeal to the Supreme Court. Grant had been the personal, almost intimate, friend of Johnson in the face of all opposition of Congress and the people; he had accompanied the President on his "swinging around the circle" tour to the West. It was Grant who in the early days of reconstruction had made a report on the condition of the South highly favorable to the policy of Johnson; Grant, again, whose testimony before the first impeachment committee shattered the hopes of the radicals. It remained now for the President himself to end forever, with a few hot words, a friendship that might have proved exceedingly useful to him. Had he possessed a tithe of the tact of his predecessor, he would have retained the friendship of Grant at any hazard. But tact Andrew Johnson did not have. The two were enemies from this moment and were never reconciled. No man in public life ever played into the hands of his enemies more certainly than did Johnson. The Republicans were already looking forward to making Grant their standard-bearer in the next presidential election; but there were many who viewed with distrust the friendship between him and their most implacable enemy and these were now highly gratified at this open rupture between the two.

Johnson's condition was anomalous. The Senate had thrust upon him a secretary with whom he held not even personal relations. But Johnson soon brought matters to a

[1] Blaine, Vol. II, p. 354.

crisis by informing the Senate on February 21 that he had removed Secretary Stanton from office and had appointed General Lorenzo Thomas to fill the place *ad interim*. The Senate was astonished at the audacity of the President in thus defying its authority. It immediately passed a resolution condemning the President's action and denying his power to remove Mr. Stanton. It could do nothing more than record this opinion, and it did it "promptly, resentfully, almost passionately." [1]

THE IMPEACHMENT[2]

The Constitution gives all power of impeachment to the House of Representatives. Andrew Johnson had as many enemies in the House as in the Senate, and even more. Over a year before his summary dealing with Stanton the radicals had made a desperate effort to impeach him. But

[1] Blaine, Vol. II, p. 355.

[2] There had been five impeachment trials by the Senate before this time. The first case of impeachment by the House of Representatives was that of William Blount, United States Senator from Tennessee in 1798. The charge against Blount was that he had entered a conspiracy to transfer New Orleans and the surrounding territory from Spain to Great Britain; but he was acquitted by the Senate on the ground that he was not a "civil officer" of the United States; he had been expelled from the Senate the preceding year and was no longer a member.

The second impeachment by the House was that of John Pickering, judge of the United States District Court of New Hampshire in 1803. The charges against him were decisions contrary to law, drunkenness, and profanity on the bench. The Senate found him guilty and removed him from office.

Samuel Chase, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, was impeached in 1804. His offence was bitter partisan utterances from the bench, in short, "offensive partisanship." Chase was an able and honest jurist, but an old-line Federalist; he could not restrain himself from partisan utterances against the Jefferson party. The Senate did not sustain the charges by a two-thirds vote, and Chase was acquitted. He remained in office till his death in 1811.

The fourth impeachment was that of Justice James H. Peck of the United States District Court for the district of Missouri in 1830. The charge was that he had punished an attorney for contempt of court for publishing a criticism of the judge's decision in a land case. The Senate acquitted him.

Judge W. H. Humphries of the Federal District Court of Tennessee was impeached by the House in 1862 for engaging in rebellion without resigning his office, and the Senate found him guilty by a unanimous vote.

after months of diligent search for evidence against him the scheme fell through; the motion to impeach was lost by a large majority. The enemies of the President were not, however, to be thwarted, if in their power to succeed. They watched with eagle eye for an opportunity to bring up again the subject of impeachment. And they now seized with indecent haste upon Johnson's quarrel with the Senate. The same day on which the dismissal of Stanton had been communicated to the Senate witnessed a resolution before the House that "*Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.*" The resolution was referred to a committee of which Thaddeus Stevens was the head, and on the next day the committee reported it back, recommending that it pass, and even suggesting that the vote be taken without debate! Two days. however, were taken to debate the question. This was Saturday. The discussion lasted till late in the night, the Republicans generally favoring impeachment, the Democrats all opposing it. On Monday the discussion was resumed and a great number of short violent speeches made, the final one being delivered by Stevens. The vote, taken in the evening, resulted in 126 for impeachment, 47 against it, and 17 absent or not voting. Those voting in the affirmative were all Republicans; those absent or refusing to vote were all Republicans except one; the negative vote was solidly Democratic.

The Rubicon was now crossed. For the first and only time in American history, the President of the United States was legally impeached by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors, and he must now stand before the bar of the Senate and answer for his alleged crimes. Upon the Senate now devolved the great responsibility of deciding whether the President should or should

not continue in his office to the end of his term. The House proceeded to elect several of its leaders as managers of the impeachment before the Senate.[1] These were men who had filled high public stations and their ability no one could question. They were to appear before the Senate with articles of impeachment and become the prosecutors. All were intensely hostile to the President.

Meantime Andrew Johnson was calm. He did not seem to be disturbed by the great movements going on in Congress. He did not even make speeches! He quietly sent to the Senate the name of Thomas Ewing of Ohio as Mr. Stanton's successor in the war office. This, for once, was a tactful stroke. Rumors had been current that Johnson's aim was to usurp the powers of the Government and to place it in the hands of the military. But the well-known honesty, patriotism, and high character of Thomas Ewing, now chosen as chief of that department, shattered all such rumors and fears to fragments.

THE GREAT TRIAL

It was on the fifth of March, 1868, when the members of the House of Representatives, led by their chosen managers, filed into the senate chamber to present formal charges against the President of the United States. The occasion was an august and momentous one. The Senate, presided over by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Salmon P. Chase, sat in grave silence as Mr. Bingham read the articles of impeachment. The articles were eleven in number, the most important being the second, charging the President with violating the Constitution by removing Mr. Stanton contrary to the Tenure of Office Act; the third,

[1] The men chosen were George S. Boutwell and Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, Thomas Williams and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, James F. Wilson of Iowa, John A. Bingham of Ohio, and John A. Logan of Illinois.

charging him with appointing Lorenzo Thomas to fill the office when no vacancy existed; and the eleventh, charging the President with stating in a public speech that the Thirty-ninth Congress was not a lawful Congress of the United States because certain southern states were not represented.

After the formal presentation of the articles the Senate as a court adjourned to meet on the thirteenth. When it again met the President's counsel asked forty days in which to prepare the defence. They were given ten. On March 23, therefore, the great trial actually began. The prosecutors for the House, as before stated, were men of eminent ability; but they were more than matched by the counsel in the employ of the President.

Foremost among these stood Benjamin S. Curtis, former Justice of the Supreme Court, a man of eminent learning, and as a lawyer without a superior in the United States. Next to Curtis stood William M. Evarts of New York, and scarcely below him was the eminent lawyer Henry Stanbery, who resigned the attorney-generalship that he might defend his chief in the famous trial.

The legal battle began with the opening speech made by General Butler, who with much skill endeavored to show that the President had violated the law by dismissing Mr. Stanton. Butler was answered by Judge Curtis in a powerful speech that lasted two days. He pierced the armor of the opposition with merciless thrusts. The burden of his argument was that the case of Stanton did not come under the Tenure of Office Act because that act plainly stated that cabinet officers should hold office *during the term of the President by whom they may have been appointed*, and that Stanton was appointed by Lincoln whose term had ended with his death. This seemed to be decisive; but the oppo-

sition claimed that Johnson was simply serving out Lincoln's term, and therefore had no right to regard his Secretary of War as the appointee of a preceding term. But this was little more than a play upon words; it was a good example of how great lawyers may honestly differ as to the meaning and intent of a law.

Now came a crisis in the trial. Mr. Evarts rose and offered to show that the Tenure of Office Bill, after it had passed both houses of Congress and was under consideration by the President, had been submitted by him to the cabinet, and they all agreed that it was unconstitutional and that the duty of preparing the President's message vetoing the bill devolved upon Mr. Seward and *Mr. Stanton.* Chief Justice Chase decided this testimony admissible, but by a vote of the Senate it was excluded.

Again Mr. Evarts offered to prove that the members of the cabinet, including Stanton, had at the same time expressed the opinion that the secretaries appointed by President Lincoln did not come within the restrictions of the pending bill. This was also overruled by a vote of the Senate.

Still again the defence offered to prove that the President and his cabinet had agreed, after the bill became a law, that it was desirable that its constitutionality be tested by the Supreme Court. In other words, one of the President's objects in dismissing Stanton was to test the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Law. But even this was thrown out by a majority vote of the Senate. This was certainly a high-handed way of dealing with the defendant. When a man is on trial for violating a questionable law and offers to prove that his motive for so doing was to put the law itself on trial, and his testimony is rejected, what unbiased observer can believe otherwise than that such rejection is

based on prejudice and passion? We criticize our jury system because frequently an illiterate man is chosen to sit in judgment on his fellows, instead of the reading man who may know something of the case already. But here was intelligence of the highest order — learning and ability without limit; yet who will say that this eminent jury was an impartial one?

The great trial continued for more than two months. Among the witnesses were men whose fame was world-wide — commanders of the army and members of the cabinet. General Sherman and Gideon Welles each sat for two days beneath the cross-fire of the contending lawyers. At length, the testimony all in, the battle of the giants was renewed with increased vigor. Williams and Butler and Bingham on the one side, alternating with Evarts and Curtis and Stanbery on the other, furnished the country an intellectual entertainment never before matched in American history. The testimony on both sides was summed up with the most consummate legal skill, some of the speeches requiring several hours in their delivery. The counsel of both sides having finished, it was left to the Senate to decide whether the President of the United States be degraded from his great office or continue to fill it to the end of his term. The responsibility was grave, for the decision, whatever it might be, was sure to become a precedent in the American Government for generations to come.

It was May 16 when this remarkable trial came to the crisis. The senate-chamber was crowded to the doors, the members of the House being admitted to its floor. The galleries were packed with citizens from all parts of the country. Foreign ministers and diplomats, high officials of the Government, men of national fame in science, in literature, or in art, sat with strained faces amid the common

crowd awaiting the scene about to transpire. Outside the Capitol surged a restless multitude unable to gain admittance. Telegraph operators sat at their places ready to flash the news to the uttermost parts of the Republic — to the cities, towns, and railroad stations, where eager throngs had gathered to await the verdict of the Senate. The silence within the senate-chamber was almost painful as the roll-call began, and as each senator arose at the call of his name and solemnly pronounced "guilty" or "not guilty."

It required two-thirds, or thirty-six, of the fifty-four senators, to convict. Many had filed their opinions a few days before, and it was known how these would vote; but enough had declined to do so to make the outcome still uncertain. The Democrats, who had no quarrel with the President, voted unanimously for acquittal; but only ten of the senators were Democrats. Two others elected as Republicans, Dixon of Connecticut and Doolittle of Wisconsin, had acted with Johnson all along, and were sure to vote in his favor now. Seven additional votes were necessary to save the President. About that number were known to be doubtful; a few had expressed themselves as opposed to conviction. The doubtful senators were led by two of the ablest and most honored men in the Senate or in the nation — Fessenden of Maine and Trumbull of Illinois. The radical press of the country, anticipating the votes of the doubtful by a week or more, had heaped upon them every form of abuse and vituperation. But, in defiance of public clamor and with a moral courage that the world must admire, these men stood undaunted and unmoved; they voted according to their convictions.

When the votes were counted, it was found that thirty-five had voted "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." By a single vote, therefore, the President had escaped deposition.

The impeachment article voted on was the eleventh, chosen as a test, because it embodied in a general way all the rest. After the vote was taken the Senate adjourned as a court for ten days, when it convened again, and voted on two of the remaining articles with the same result. The other articles were never voted on, and the impeachment trial was over.

The storm of abuse that now arose from the radical element of the Republican party against Fessenden, Trumbull, and their Republican colleagues who had voted with them was something frightful. They were called traitors to their country, bribe-takers, everything that was vile.[1] They were read out of the party. They were, in the language of Thaddeus Stevens, threatened with a "gibbet of everlasting obloquy" and with "a long and dark track of infamy."

Many were the speculations as to why these men had voted to acquit the President. Some attributed their action to their dislike of Senator Wade, who would have become President had Johnson been removed. Others declared that Chase was silently working against Wade, and had influenced their action. Still others accused the "traitors of deliberately bargaining away their votes to Johnson"[2] for the sake of public patronage. But the greatest number professed to believe that these senators were bribed outright with money, and a committee was actually appointed by the House to investigate the charges of corruption. The accused senators remained calm, dignified, silent. Mr. Fessenden, however, made a statement to the public, a timely, manly statement, in which are found the following words:

The people have not taken an oath to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws. I have taken that

[1] See *The Nation*, Vol. VI, p. 341.
[2] *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), May 13, 1869.

oath. I cannot render judgment on *their* convictions, nor can they transfer to themselves my punishment if I violate my own. I should consider myself undeserving of confidence . . . and unworthy a place among honorable men, if for any fears of public reprobation, and for the sake of securing popular favor, I should disregard the convictions of my judgment and conscience.

The Republican outburst of passion was temporary. The leaders of the party, the great editors, soon saw their folly. A sober second thought led them to reconsider. The general tone of the public press now became in substance this: Why should these great men be accused of sinister motives? Their public careers are well known; no taint of corruption has ever touched them. How could they have sought position and power? These they have enjoyed these many years. Bribery! let the preposterous accusation never again be mentioned. As to driving these noble souls out of the party — why, bless you, the party couldn't get along without them. This change in public sentiment was permanent; and now, at the close of more than half a century after these great events, it would be difficult to find a sensible American who regrets the outcome of the greatest trial in our history.

Secretary Stanton was deeply disappointed at the result of the trial. During its progress he had held the war office with a sentinel at the door, as if defending a besieged city. The trial over, he instantly resigned, and General Schofield was installed in his place. Stanton's health was broken and his heart was broken. He sank into the grave the following year, after being honored by President Grant with an appointment to the Supreme Court. Let us pity rather than blame Stanton. He made many blunders; but his services during the war were valiant, and on the whole he was a patriot and a hero.

Next to the President and Stanton, Senator Wade was most affected by the trial and its result. None but Aaron Burr and Samuel J. Tilden have come so near the great prize as he, and yet missed it. Wade's political life was soon to close; it had reached the zenith, and took a downward turn at the great trial. Wade had been a powerful leader for years; the public had honored him with its love; but in this trial he voted against Johnson and thus for himself. His friends had boasted that, if his conscience led him to convict, he would refrain from voting at all; but he voted nevertheless. Wade had been highly honored before this; he was honored after, but not so highly. He still soared, but, like the bird with a broken pinion, he never soared so high again.

OBSERVATIONS

We are a great people, governed by law. Our laws are of our own choosing. Those of a general, basic nature, pertaining to the whole people, are embodied in a permanent form — the Constitution. This Constitution, the supreme law of the land, is so difficult to amend, and our adherence to it is so changeless, that it plays a great part in making us a conservative people. Our moderation is known unto all men, and never, perhaps, was it better illustrated than in the trial of Andrew Johnson. Following hard upon the great war which had stirred society to its profoundest depths, it came at a time when the passions of men had not yet cooled. The war was over, but the knotty problem of reconstruction with which the nation wrestled presented new difficulties at every turn, and kept the old war feeling at fever heat. In the midst of this turmoil came the trial of Johnson. He had resisted the policy of the dominant party on the great questions of the day until the feeling against

him became little short of hatred. Yet Johnson was acquitted; but the large vote against him rendered his acquittal a weaker victory for conservatism and moderation than it otherwise would have been.

The trial cannot be pronounced an impartial one. We can believe, however, that every senator voted in accordance with his convictions, his conscience; but the verdict of many was unconsciously influenced by partisan bias. In ordinary criminal cases the accused and the members of the jury are required to be without previous personal relations; but here was a jury the majority of which had, for a long season, been engaged in a most bitter contest with the accused. They were men of the highest training and education, but this did not lift them above the common weaknesses of humanity. No amount of education can train out of a man the common follies of our nature, nor can education implant in a man new virtues; it simply develops that which nature has already furnished, and gives a man greater self-control. Johnson's jury was in some measure partial and prejudiced, simply because it could not help being so.

In ordinary times Johnson would not have been impeached at all. His real offence was not written in the indictment; it was not the removal of Stanton or anything else mentioned in the articles of impeachment. His great offence consisted of his steady opposition to and exasperation of the party that gave him his power. The greatest of Republican organs, the *New York Tribune*, formally announced that the trial was altogether a party proceeding.[1] The *Independent* regarded the trial as a mere exertion of party strength to get rid of an obstacle. Johnson had a legal, if not a moral, right to his course, nor was it possible for his enemies to reach him on account of it by any legal process. He was

[1] *The Nation*, Vol. VI, p. 384.

arraigned, therefore, on a technicality which, at other times, would have attracted little attention — on the alleged violation of a questionable law framed and passed for him alone.

The trial on the whole was the most notable attempt in human history to peacefully depose the official head of a great nation. Had the attempt succeeded, the precedent for the future would have been mischievous, for it would have not only given the American people a backsetting in their wholesome and self-satisfied opinion of their own conservatism, it would also have furnished a dangerous example to future political parties that might desire to depose an offensive official in high station on purely partisan grounds. It is certainly a matter of pardonable self-congratulation to the American people, not only that the impeachment trial failed, but also that during its progress there was no popular uprising, no serious disturbance of the social and business relations of the country.

CHAPTER X

The Alabama Claims

In our century and a half of national life, our relations with foreign countries have for the most part been wholesome. Our relations have been more intimate, more frequently strained, and on the whole more important with the country to which we are most nearly related, and from which we won our independence, than with any other country.

The attitude of the English people, or at least of the English Government, toward the United States has been one of constant change during the period of our national existence. For at least three decades following the Revolution, the British feeling toward America was one of contempt, owing to our weakness and insignificance among the Great Powers. This was plainly shown by the forcible impressment of seamen from American ships, and by various Orders in Council intended largely to damage American commerce. Our chief crime in those days was our youthfulness, and England's attitude was that of Sir Robert Walpole toward the youthful Pitt. But the War of 1812 opened the eyes of the world to the fact that America was able to take care of herself, and in our foreign relations our stock rose with a bound, and it has seldom since then fallen below par. When it was seen that the United States were likely to remain united and to grow into a great and powerful nation, the British feeling was changed to one of jealous rivalry, and so it continued for many years. This feeling

was still dominant at the outbreak of the Civil War; and this partially explains the favorable attitude of Great Britain toward the South during the first years of the war.

Since that war, however, since the Union has shown its ability to maintain its own integrity, since we have passed the experimental stage, have grown to the full stature of manhood, and have taken our place as one of the greatest nations of the earth, the attitude of Great Britain has become that of a friendly rival. British writers now refer to us in the most friendly terms with frequent pleasing references to the fact that we are the offspring of the mother country. This varying attitude of the English only proves them human. America won her standing by toiling upward for a century. A young author or business man or statesman must win and earn recognition before he can hope to receive it. It is so with nations, and America could expect recognition as one of the Great Powers only when it had earned and was in a position to command it. There is now no question of our standing among the nations; and while it is difficult for many Americans to forgive the British for their earlier neglect of their struggling kinsmen, it is very gratifying to note the genuine expressions of relationship and friendship at the present time.

We must now advert to the subject before us. During the Civil War and the years immediately following, the most serious question between her Majesty's Government and the United States (excepting possibly the short-lived affair of the *Trent*) was that which took the general name of the Alabama Claims; that is, claims of the United States Government against Great Britain for damages wrought by a score or more of Confederate vessels built in English shipyards.

THE "ALABAMA"

The most destructive of these vessels that ploughed the main in quest of Federal plunder was the *Alabama*. She was an armed cruiser of nine hundred tons burden, two hundred and thirty feet in length by thirty-two feet in width and with a depth of twenty feet. Her engines represented three hundred horse-power and she carried eight guns. She was built at Liverpool by the Lairds. Mr. Laird, the senior member of the firm, was a member of Parliament. The Confederate agent, Mr. Bullock, had secured the building of the vessel by the Laird firm, and it was generally known that she was intended for the Confederate service. Mr. Dudley, the American consul at Liverpool, protested vigorously against the proceedings. He laid the matter before the American minister at London, Charles Francis Adams, who called upon the British Government to prevent the cruiser from entering the service of the southern states; but the Government answered that it "would listen to no complaints from the officials of the United States which did not furnish technical evidence for criminal prosecution under the Foreign Enlistment Act." Dudley then busied himself to find the necessary evidence, and succeeded. On July 21, 1862, he transmitted this to the Board of Customs at London, and urged that the vessel, then known as the "290," be instantly seized, that the authority to do this be given by telegraph, as the ship was now ready for sea and might escape at any hour. In the face of all this the London authorities allowed eight days to elapse before they considered the matter at all![1] The "290" escaped. She sailed

[1] It is but fair to say that the delay was caused in part by the illness of Sir John D. Harding of the Queen's Counsel.

leisurely down the Mersey and spent two nights and a day in Moelfra Bay, but no effort was made to seize her. After steaming about the north coast of Ireland with no apparent fear, the vessel proceeded to the Azores, where, after waiting for some days, she was joined by the *Agrippina*, direct from London and bearing for the "290" six guns, some hundreds of tons of coal, and large stores of ammunition and provisions.

Two days later another British vessel hove in sight and bore Raphael Semmes, the future commander of the newly built ship, and other officers. On August 24, the "290" came out in her true colors, unfurled the Confederate flag, took the name *Alabama*, and started a few days later on her wonderful tour of the oceans — the most remarkable in the history of naval warfare.

After destroying a number of American merchantmen, the *Alabama* made a grand parabolic sweep westward, crossing the Atlantic Ocean to within two hundred miles of New York, thence turning southward to the West Indies. Here her depredations were continued, and by the first of November she had captured twenty-seven Federal vessels.[1] When anchored at the island of Martinique the *Alabama* narrowly escaped capture by the United States war vessel *San Jacinto*. Early in December the *Alabama* came upon the United States vessel *Ariel* between Cuba and St. Domingo and the latter was soon made a captive. A month later the gunboat *Hatteras* was fired upon and sunk near Galveston by the Confederate cruiser. In the early spring of 1863 the *Alabama* made another grand détour, touching the coast of Brazil at Bahia, proceeding thence eastward to South Africa and soon after to the Bay of Bengal, where she spent the following winter making a prize of every American vessel

[1] See Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat.*

that came within her reach. In the following spring she sailed back by way of the Cape of Good Hope, capturing the *Tycoon* and the *Rockingham* on the way. In July we find her in the harbor of Cherbourg, France.

It happened that the Federal steamer *Kearsarge* under Captain Winslow was lying off the harbor. Captain Semmes could easily have evaded his enemy, nor would it have reflected in the least on his courage and his duty had he done so, for the *Alabama* was a privateer and its business was to prey on unarmed merchantmen. But Semmes had been twitted with being called a pirate and he wished to prove his ship a legitimate war vessel; moreover, he was anxious to furnish an exhibition of Confederate valor and to revive if possible the expiring question of the recognition of his new-born nation by the European Powers.

He challenged Captain Winslow to a naval duel.

The *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama* were very nearly equal in size and strength; the former carried seven guns and the latter eight of about the same caliber.[1] Winslow accepted the challenge, and the two American vessels steamed out about seven miles from shore, so as to be in neutral waters, when they turned each upon the other like two crouching tigers, and began their duel to the death.

The *Alabama* opened with two or three broadsides before the *Kearsarge* began firing; but the distance was twelve hundred yards and little harm was done. The two vessels now began circling round and round, lessening the distance until but nine hundred yards lay between them, each pouring her deadly broadsides into the other with great rapidity. The spectacle from the shore, where thousands of people had gathered to witness the battle, enhanced by the rolling cannon's boom across the waters, was one of terrific gran-

[1] Pollard, *Lost Cause*, p. 549.

deur. For an hour they gazed with strange fascination upon the mortal strife between the estranged brethren of the same household. Many of the shots went wild; others struck home with fatal effect. One shot from the *Kearsarge* penetrated the coal-bunkers of the enemy, exploded, and killed or wounded eighteen men. At the end of an hour's fighting the *Alabama* ceased firing and was seen to head for the harbor; but Captain Winslow steamed across her bow and was about to open a raking fire when the *Alabama* struck her colors and surrendered.

A few minutes later one of her officers in a small boat rowed up to the *Kearsarge*, informed Captain Winslow that the *Alabama* had surrendered and was sinking, and he begged that boats be sent to save the crew. Winslow instantly dispatched the only two of his boats that had not been pierced by bullets; at the same time he called to the captain of the *Deerhound*, an English yacht that had come near, and requested him to help save the men on the sinking *Alabama*. But while many were still on board, and but twenty minutes after the battle had ceased, the time of reckoning arrived, and the Confederate privateer sank beneath the waves —

> And the sea yawned round her like a hell
> As down she sucked with her the whirling wave.

Thus the wild, meteoric career of the famous *Alabama* was ended. For two years, without let or hindrance, she had coursed the waters of two hemispheres on her mission of destruction. She had destroyed sixty-five vessels — ten millions dollars' worth of property. But at last her course was ended. She, with many of her valiant crew, found a final home on the bed of the ocean, on whose bosom she had reigned, a queen without a rival, until her too sanguine

master made this hapless challenge to fight a duel with the *Kearsarge*.[1]

Nearly a score of Confederate privateers were built or fitted out in English waters during the four years of warfare. Next to the *Alabama* the *Shenandoah* was the most destructive to American shipping; she made thirty-eight captures on the high seas, twenty-one of which were whalers. She had been a British merchant ship in the Bombay trade, and was purchased by the Confederate Government. The *Florida* made thirty-six captures and the *Tallahassee* twenty-seven. In October, 1864, the *Florida* was captured by the United States war vessel *Wachusett* in the harbor of Bahia. But owing to the capture having been made in Brazilian waters the captive ship was released and an apology made to Brazil. The *Florida* afterward sank through an accident off Hampton Roads, Virginia.

NEGOTIATIONS

There was a notable gathering in the city of Paris in the spring of 1856. In this meeting were representatives from all the leading nations of Europe, and their object was to make new and important rules concerning naval operations in time of war. The most important declaration of this congress was that privateering — preying upon the enemies' commerce in time of war — be abolished. The United States Government was requested to join in this agreement, but it refused. Had it only been foreseen what a terrible retribution would be visited on the United States within the coming decade on account of this refusal, the decision might have

[1] By every rule of warfare the survivors of the *Alabama* were prisoners of Captain Winslow; but to his astonishment the "gentleman" who commanded the *Deerhound* steamed away with Captain Semmes and several of his fellow-officers and gave them their liberty.

But three men on the *Kearsarge* were wounded and none killed. See *Rebellion Record*, Vol. IX, p. 221.

been otherwise. But the reason for refusing was plausible, nevertheless. It was remembered that in the War of 1812 our greatest hold upon Great Britain was through privateering, for her vast merchant marine offered a tempting bait to our few armed cruisers. It was also argued that, since our navy was insignificant and that of various other nations was powerful, it would be obviously to our disadvantage, if, when at war with one of them, armed warships alone were legitimate prizes. However, in July of the same year, 1856, the United States offered to accept the Paris Declaration if the Powers would add another article exempting all private property, even of an enemy, from capture on the sea; but to this they would not agree.

At the opening of the Civil War the United States was the only great nation not committed to the abolition of privateering, and it was at once seen what a serious blunder had been made; for southern cruisers might now prey to their heart's content on United States merchant marine, while no retaliation could be offered, as the South was without any merchant shipping. At the beginning of the war, even before the close of April, 1861, Secretary Seward offered to accept the Paris Declaration without qualification. France and Great Britain consented on the condition "that it have no effect on the internal difficulty now prevailing in the United States." But this was the very object sought, and as this was denied Seward allowed the matter to drop, and to this day nothing further has been done. Thus we see how it came about that our shipping fell under the ravages of the reckless *Alabama* and her reckless sisters during the Civil War.

In less than four months after the escape of the *Alabama* from Liverpool, Mr. Adams placed in the hands of Earl Russell a written protest against the negligence of the British

Government in permitting the vessel and others of a like character to be built or fitted out in English waters. Russell denied all liability on the part of Great Britain in the matter. Adams kept up his protests during the war as new losses to American shipping were reported. In April, 1865, he made to Earl Russell an official statement of the number and tonnage of United States vessels that had been transferred to the British flag owing to the depredations of the southern cruisers. The earl made answer in the following language, "Her Majesty's Government must decline either to make reparation and compensation for the captures made by the *Alabama*, or to refer the question to any foreign state."

Thus matters stood at the close of the war. Lord Stanley soon succeeded Earl Russell in the Foreign Office, and his refusal to recognize the American claims was as positive and decisive as that of Russell had been. Secretary Seward then informed the British Government that no further efforts for arbitration would be made; but some time later he transmitted a list of claims for which the British Government would be held responsible.

In May, 1868, Mr. Adams, after a long and most faithful service, retired from his mission, and Mr. Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, an aged and highly respected citizen who had won national fame in the cabinet of Zachary Taylor and by his long service in the Senate, was appointed to the Court of St. James's. The British ministry was now changed, Mr. Gladstone succeeding Mr. Disraeli as premier, and Lord Clarendon becoming minister of foreign affairs. In a very brief time the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty was arranged. This treaty made no mention of the important demands of the United States; it simply provided that a joint commission be appointed to arrange and settle the claims of private individuals of each nation upon the other. The American

public was greatly disappointed. The Senate made short work of the treaty. A two-thirds vote was necessary to its adoption, and it received but a single aye when the ballot was taken. The British public now began to feel, what the Americans had long felt, that there was something serious between the two nations. This feeling was greatly intensified by a speech made in the Senate by Charles Sumner while the treaty was pending. In this speech Mr. Sumner, always a radical, made the most extravagant claims. He placed our loss through the capture and burning of American vessels at about $15,000,000, the loss to our carrying trade about $110,000,000. And Sumner did not stop here. He stated further that the prolongation of the war was traceable directly to England, that the war was doubtless doubled in duration on account of national losses sustained through that country's intervention, and he intimated further that the British Government should be called to pay a large portion of the expenses of the war. This meant that a thousand million dollars, at least, of the war expenses should be demanded of that government.

The new Administration had now been installed; General Grant was President and Hamilton Fish was Secretary of State. It was first believed that the President and his Secretary were in sympathy with Sumner's extravagant and preposterous claim, but in fact they were astonished at the extreme position taken by the senator. Grant's disapproval of Sumner's position soon reached the latter's ears, and a coolness sprang up between them which increased until they became personal enemies. Sumner's claim was based, not wholly on the ravages of the *Alabama* and other cruisers, but more especially on the Queen's hasty and unnecessary recognition of southern belligerent rights in May, 1861. This proclamation had given the rebellion a standing through-

out the world, and had led other nations to imitate the example of England. No other nation, however, had gone so far as to permit within its harbors the fitting out of Confederate cruisers.

President Grant agreed with Mr. Sumner and the American people that this action of the English sovereign was hasty and unnecessary, and certainly showed at least a want of friendly feeling toward the United States; but he regarded it within the competence of any independent power, nor did it furnish any ground for a claim of damages.

A year passed and nothing further was done. In December, 1870, the President, in his annual message, stated that his firm and unalterable conviction was that the United States had just cause of complaint, and he recommended that the United States Government assume and pay all private claims of American citizens against England and thus make the matter a purely international affair. The message made a profound impression in London,[1] and it speedily awakened the British ministry to action. A month after the message was sent to Congress, Sir John Rose, a London banker, reached Washington on a secret mission. He had been sent to ascertain in an informal way if the United States was willing to open negotiations for the settlement of pending controversies. He found a ready and favorable response to his inquiries, and on the twenty-sixth of January Sir Edward Thornton, English minister at Washington, proposed, on the authority of his Government, a joint high commission to sit at Washington to discuss the pending questions. Twenty-seven days later the British members of this commission landed in America. In such haste did they leave their country that they left their commissions behind them. These were sent later by a special

[1] Blaine, Vol. II, p. 495.

messenger. Such extraordinary haste, after the matter had been pending for five or six years, was based on a twofold ground: first, the very decided stand taken by President Grant in his message to Congress; second, the Franco-Prussian War. In reference to the latter, Lord Granville had said in the House of Lords that there was "cause to look with solicitude on the uneasy relations of the British Government with the United States and the inconvenience thereof in case of possible complications in Europe."

This covered the case exactly. If England had become embroiled in that European war, and the Alabama claims had yet remained unsettled, irreparable damage would no doubt have resulted to British commerce; for this Government could not have been expected to take the trouble to prevent armed vessels hostile to England from being fitted out in American harbors.

THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON

The Joint High Commission was composed of men of the highest character and standing in the two nations.[1] They began their sittings early in March, met thirty-four times, finished and signed the treaty on May 8. It was ratified by the Senate the same month, by the British Government in June, and was proclaimed in force by President Grant on the fourth of July.

The Treaty of Washington provided for the settlement of the fisheries question between the United States and Canada, for the settlement of the northwest boundary of the United States, for the adjustment of English claims

[1] The United States was represented by Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, Robert C. Schenk, Samuel Nelson, E. R. Hoar, and G. H. Williams; Great Britain was represented by Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Professor Montague Bernard.

against America, and above all for settling of the long-standing irritating question of the Alabama claims. It is with this last, which, however, stood first in the treaty, that we have to deal. In the first place the British Commissioners, authorized by the Queen, expressed the regret of her Majesty's Government for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports and for the depredations committed by those vessels. This was followed by the adoption of three rules, which, it was agreed, should have a retroactive, or *ex post facto* effect, so as to apply to the case in hand.

The rules in substance were as follows: A neutral nation is bound, first, to use due diligence to prevent the fitting out or arming of any vessels intended to make war upon a nation with which it is at peace; second, it must not permit either belligerent to use its ports or waters as a base of naval operations against the other; third, it must exercise due diligence within its jurisdiction to prevent any violation of the above named duties.

The treaty then provided for a Court of Arbitration to meet at Geneva, Switzerland, and to be composed of five persons, no two of whom should belong to the same country.

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

Of the five men composing the Court of Arbitration at Geneva, one each was appointed by the President of the United States, the Queen of England, the King of Italy, the Emperor of Brazil, and the President of the Swiss Republic. President Grant appointed to represent our country Charles Francis Adams, ex-minister to England, the son of a former President and the grandson of another. Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice of England, became the British representative. The King of Italy appointed Count Sclopis

of Turin, a man of an eminent family, a distinguished lawyer, judge, and man of letters, whose reputation covered all Europe. The President of the Swiss Republic chose Jacques Staempfli, and the Emperor of Brazil the Viscount d'Itajuba, his minister to Paris. These men were all of the highest respectability and eminence in their respective countries. A few of them enjoyed a world-wide fame. It was generally believed that their decision, whatever it might be, would be accepted as final by the two countries interested.

The first session of the tribunal took place on December 15, 1871, and Count Sclopis was selected as chairman. The claims put forth by Bancroft Davis, the agent for the United States, were based on the actual damage done by the cruisers in question, the enhanced insurance rates caused by the greater peril to United States shipping, the cost of pursuing the Confederate cruisers, and the transfer of American vessels to the British flag. In addition to these, there was a claim for damages on account of the prolongation of the war, caused by the negligence of the British Government. This last was called "indirect claims" for "consequential" damages. This claim was by no means so extravagant as that of Senator Sumner; but nevertheless it was enough to raise a storm of protest in England. The more conservative Americans agreed that this indirect or consequential claim was not warranted by the facts in the case.

While the British public was in a furor of excitement over the claim, and the Americans, half-hearted, seemed to regret having made it, the Geneva tribunal ended the suspense by throwing it out as "not good foundation for an award of compensation or computation of damages,"—and both countries breathed freer. It also decided that no compensation be allowed for the cost of pursuit of the Confederate cruisers,

as this was not distinguishable from the general expenses of the war. Finally, however, the tribunal decided that the British Government had failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations, and that it pay the United States fifteen and a half million dollars in gold as damages in settlement of the Alabama claims. Chief Justice Cockburn, who represented British interests, alone cast a negative vote, and refused to sign the article when completed. The Conference finished its work on September 14, 1872; both countries accepted the verdict as final, and the troublesome question was settled. This *Alabama* affair has been pronounced the most unfortunate blunder in her foreign policy in the history of the British monarchy;[1] but, instead of rushing to arms, the two nations wisely decided to settle the matter in a friendly way. Thus a great victory was scored for arbitration and a most salutory precedent for the future was established.

[1] *The Nation*, Vol. XIV, p. 84.

CHAPTER XI

The Liberal Republican Movement of 1872

Perhaps no political party in American history was founded on purer and more unselfish motives than the Republican party. The party was at first composed of discordant elements — old-line Whigs, who, since the hopeless wreck of their party, had wandered homeless, unwilling to join themselves to their ancient enemy, the party that had overthrown their own; the Know-Nothings, who, despite their party name, had come to know something, namely, that their party, after its drastic defeat in Virginia in 1855, could rise no more; and the anti-Nebraska Democrats, who had broken the instincts of a lifetime, and torn themselves away from the old party for conscience' sake. Discordant elements they were for the most part; but in one respect they were in accord — non-extension of slavery — and this became the corner-stone of the great structure of Republicanism. But no political party in these latter times will rule the country long without losing, in a great measure, its original purity, without falling, to some extent, into the hands of self-seeking demagogues. This is especially true at a time of a great social upheaval such as the Civil War, when offices are multiplied, when the military grows insolent in its sway over the civil authority — still more especially when the party in power grows so great as to monopolize government, and its opposing rival becomes so weak that its protesting voice can be heard but faintly.

Such was the condition in the early sixties, and the

Republican party proved no exception to the rule. The achievements of the Republican party during the first eight years of its power were perhaps greater than those of any other party in our history during an equal period. But the canker-worm had begun its work. The unfortunate quarrel on reconstruction left its wound; this was deepened by the impeachment of President Johnson. But, worst of all, the party now elected a President who lacked the capacity of a business man, and was without political training — a President who was a soldier, a true soldier, but only a soldier — a President who was honest, too honest to suspect and watch the dishonest man.

As the first presidential term of General Grant drew near its ending, it was found that many leading Republicans had become profoundly dissatisfied with the working of the party. Among these we find Curtin and McClure of Pennsylvania, Leonard Sweet and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, Chase and Stanley Matthews of Ohio, Seward and Greeley and Dana of New York; to these must be added such men as Justice Field, Cassius M. Clay, Carl Schurz, the mouthpiece of the German-Americans, Charles Sumner, and Charles Francis Adams. These were surrounded by a multitude of followers in every stage of political importance, and supported by such great daily papers as the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Cincinnati Commercial*. That some of these men had personal grievances against the Administration cannot be denied, but to attribute the great defection wholly or mainly to such a cause is a perversion of history.

THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION

The "Liberal Republican" movement had its beginning in Missouri, where the Administration party refused to restore the ex-Confederates of the state to civil rights. A

more liberal element of the party, however, led by Carl Schurz and Frank P. Blair, favored removing all disabilities caused by the war, joined themselves to the Democrats, elected B. Gratz Brown governor, and effected their object. The uprising in Missouri was local in its scope, but as an anti-administration movement it found a ready response from disaffected Republicans in all parts of the country. This anti-Grant feeling in the various states was not generally based on the same ground as that in Missouri; it arose from a widespread feeling of distrust, from a belief that the President was incapable of curbing the wily politician in quest of plunder, and from the fact that the President persisted in appointing to office many of his relatives and friends regardless of their fitness. The Missouri Liberals were pleased at the favorable reception of their movement by a large number of their fellow-Republicans in other states, and when they perceived that Grant was sure to be renominated by the majority of the party, they met in state convention, and called a national convention to meet at Cincinnati on the first of May, 1872.

The Cincinnati convention was a great gathering; it represented much of the best brains of the party that had controlled the country during the war period. They represented no great party, but a disaffected element of a party. They were not sent to the convention; they came of their own accord, and their object was to prevent the reëlection of President Grant. At first the leaders were in doubt whether it were better to put an opposition candidate in the field, or simply to exert a moral influence strong enough to prevent the selection of Grant by the coming Republican convention at Philadelphia.[1] Had the regular party been willing to sacrifice Grant, the Liberal element would have

[1] *The Nation*, Vol. XV, p. 20.

no doubt dissolved. But as this could not be, it was determined to nominate an opposing candidate at Cincinnati. The elements here gathered were as discordant as those composing the original Republican party in 1856; but on one point they agreed — opposition to Grant. They put forth a platform of principles in which they professed to be still Republicans, but opposed to corruption of the civil service, to the supremacy of the military over the civil power, to the continued disability of ex-Confederate soldiers. They also expressed their opinion, as a direct thrust at Grant, that "no President ought to be a candidate for reëlection." On the tariff question the convention could not agree. Many were free traders, others were avowed protectionists; and on this they agreed to disagree by acknowledging their difference and waiving the question.

The great question before the convention was the choosing of a candidate for President. The success of the whole movement depended on this. There was already a tacit understanding between the Liberals and the Democrats that the latter would ratify the nominations made at Cincinnati. It was necessary, therefore, for the Liberals to nominate a true Liberal, a mild, broad-minded Republican, who could command the respect and support of the old-time Democrats.

Four prominent names were before the convention: those of David Davis and Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, Charles Francis Adams and Horace Greeley of New York. Any one of the first three would have been very acceptable to the Democrats. The convention nominated the fourth. For many weeks before the convention met the name of Adams was the most talked of. Adams had done valiant service during the war at the court of St. James's, and the traditions of his name had much to do with his general prestige. But Adams, like his father and grandfather, was cold, distant,

and wanting in the winning arts of the politician; and, true to his ancestral precedents, he made a serious blunder at the very moment when discreet silence might have won him the prize. He telegraphed his friends at Cincinnati that, rather than make any pledges for his honesty, they should "take him out of that crowd." There were many in "that crowd" who resented the apparent reflection, and cast their votes in another direction. Trumbull was considered less seriously than the other three. Davis had a powerful following, and many believed he would be the choice of the convention; but the Adams men declared they would not support Davis if nominated. This narrowed the fight down to Adams and Greeley. On the first ballot Adams led with a little over 200 votes, the New York editor coming second with 147. On each succeeding ballot Adams lost and Greeley gained, until the latter was nominated on the sixth.

HORACE GREELEY

The presidential nominee of the Liberal Republicans in 1872 was, with the exception of the President, the most conspicuous character in the United States; and while Grant had recently loomed, first upon the military, then upon the political, horizon with the suddenness of a meteor, Greeley had for a generation shone from the zenith as a star of the first magnitude. While Grant was yet a boy in knickerbockers on his father's farm in southern Ohio, Greeley was experimenting in the nation's metropolis with the first one-cent daily ever issued; while Grant was an unknown cadet at West Point, Greeley was in the midst of the memorable political battle of 1840, and through his *Log Cabin*, with its half a million readers, was doing more to elect General Harrison than any other man; while Grant was hoeing potatoes and hauling cordwood in Missouri, or working in

his father's tannery in Illinois, already a middle-aged man, and perhaps without a dream of future greatness, Greeley was the proprietor of the *New York Tribune* and the acknowledged prince of American editors.

Horace Greeley, the son of an itinerant farmer, was born in the Granite State in the year of the battle of Tippecanoe. When the boy was six years old, the father became a bankrupt, lost his farm and his home, and he migrated with his little family to Vermont, where his success in gaining a livelihood was little better. When Horace grew to be a lad of fifteen (and an awkward, ill-dressed, unattractive, towhead lad he was), he walked many miles to a town in which he had heard that a newspaper was printed, for he was resolved to be an editor. He obtained a position and astonished the proprietor of the paper by writing editorials from the beginning, the best and wittiest the paper had ever contained. A few years later we find him in the same business in Erie, Pennsylvania, near which town his roving father had found in the wilderness another home. As young Horace grew to manhood, his vision broadened and he determined to strike out in the great world, and win for himself the best that his talents could procure. He went to the city of New York. After a long and laborious journey, he reached the metropolis, with ambition in his soul and nothing in his pocket. After years of unwearied toil, years filled with failures and successes, Greeley stepped forth into the public gaze as the foremost editor of New York City; and New York City led the nation in journalism. From this time on, to the end of his long career, he held his lofty position without a rival; and even to this day America has produced no journalist superior to Horace Greeley.

Such was the man whom the Liberal Republicans nominated in 1872. And herein lay his weakness as a candidate:

he had been a conspicuous editor for so many years, he was a man of convictions, positive opinions on all public questions, and he had expressed them freely. Thus he had made enemies in the house of his friends as well as elsewhere, and many of his enemies were powerful and irreconcilable.

But the most serious menace to success was in the attitude of the Democrats. They had little hope for success at the polls unless they joined the Liberals, but Greeley was the least acceptable of all the Republicans that might have been named. He had been a violent opponent of the Democracy for more than thirty years, and there was not a leading man in the party who had not felt the weight of his blows. His nomination at first produced consternation among the Democrats of the whole country; but as the weeks passed and the leaders realized the absolute hopelessness of winning on a separate ticket, it was decided to swallow the medicine, however bitter, and Greeley was nominated by the Democratic convention at Baltimore in July.[1]

THE CAMPAIGN

The campaign of 1872 was an anomalous one. Never before in American history had a great political party supported a candidate whose whole career had been one of unrelenting antagonism to that party. Henry Clay had been a member of the Democratic party for many years before he broke away from it, founded the Whig party, and

[1] A story went the rounds which compared the Democratic party to an aged preacher whose habit in announcing hymns was to take the first one that met his eye on opening his hymn-book. A practical joker pasted in the book the rhymed doggerel beginning —

"Old Grimes is dead, the good old soul,
We shall never see him more."

The preacher opened the book at this place, read the "hymn," and then slowly raised his eyes and said: "Brethren, I have been using this hymn-book for thirty years, and I never saw this in it before; but here it is, and we'll sing it if it kills us." So the Democrats would accept Greeley if it killed them.

became its candidate for the presidency. James Buchanan was a Federalist in early life, but he had long since abandoned his first love and had been for many years a leader in the councils of the Democrats before he was made President by them. Zachary Taylor had never identified himself with any political party when nominated for the presidency by the Whigs in 1848. And even Grant had voted with the Democracy in 1856, but during and after the war became fully identified with the Republicans. But Horace Greeley had been, from the time he entered public life up to the moment of his nomination, the most bitter and implacable foe with which the Democrats had to contend. Could they now support this man for the great office?

While the Democratic party as such supported him, there were many thousands of the rank and file, especially of the older men who had passed through the political contests of antebellum days, who refused to be brought into line by the party lash. They remained away from the polls and thus kept the vote for the New York editor far below the expectations of his friends. Another source of weakness arose from the opposite direction. Many Republicans who had favored the Liberal movement at first now became alarmed at finding themselves in Democratic company and hastened to get back to their friends before election time. The most effective campaign argument of the regular Republicans who supported General Grant was that the great majority of Greeley supporters were Democrats, and if he were elected it would be a Democratic victory, a turning of the Government over to the Democratic party. It was too soon, they argued, it was dangerous, to intrust the Government with all the hard-won fruits of the war to the unreformed Democracy, to a party that had pronounced the war a failure but eight years before, a party that was unfriendly

to the last three amendments to the Constitution and to the freedmen of the South, a party that included all the old slaveholders and ex-rebels. This was made the main issue by the Republican orators and editors, and it resulted in reclaiming thousands of voters who had but a few months before fully intended to cast their lot with the Liberals. They preferred, on a second thought, to bear the ills they had, rather than fly to others they knew not of.

The Greeley orators, on the other hand, rang many changes on Grant's civic incapacity, on his debauching of the civil service, and on the corrupt carpet-bag governments in the South. They were answered that Greeley's record proved that the civil service would be no better in his hands, that Grant was not responsible for the carpet-bag governments, and that Greeley, with all his prestige as an editor and his ability as a writer, was as utterly without experience in executive office as Grant had been before his first election. Greeley was also taken severely to task for his attitude at the beginning of the war, when he counseled that the North permit the southern sisters to "depart in peace," and after its close, when he signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis. This last was effectually answered by the statement that it was no less culpable for the Supreme Court to admit Davis to bail with the approval of President Grant than to sign his bond — nor for General Grant to extend a practical pardon to Lee and his army on their surrender at Appomattox.

The campaign was not without its torchlight procession element.[1] It was even compared with the memorable cam-

[1] Here are a few specimens of the songs, made for the occasion: —

Hiram had a little lamb,
T-m-y was his name,
Shouting the battle-cry of plunder;
And every time the master robbed,
The lamb would do the same,
Shouting the battle-cry of plunder.

paign of 1840, in which Greeley, then a young man, was a most conspicuous figure.

When the arguments were exhausted and the songs well worn, both sides stooped to personalities and vituperation, known in our political parlance as "mud slinging." Greeley was much stronger in the West and South than in his own locality. Late in the summer he made a tour of some weeks' duration through Ohio, Indiana, and other states, and many thousands of people flocked to the towns and railway sta-

CHORUS — Greeley forever! Hurrah! boys, hurrah!
Pack off Ulysses to dwell with his pa.
We'll rally round the flag, boys,
We'll rally once again,
Shouting for Greeley and the Union.

Another ran thus:

Old Horace Greeley's come to town
With his old white hat and B. Gratz Brown.
Whene'er you see the old white hat,
You know there's something under that.
Go away, Ulysses Grant,
You can't come in, because you can't,
To rule the country like an honest man;
But Uncle Horace says he can.

On the other side we find:

Who is this Horace Greeley, Pa,
That people call so wise?
Is he some giant tall enough
To reach unto the skies?

Oh, no, my child, about as large
As I, or Governor Brown;
'Twas not his stature made him great,
Or won him his renown.

But he it is who nobly bailed
Jeff Davis from his cell,
And now we want for President
The man who did so well.

And another:

The Ku-Klux-Klan
Don't like our man,
To beat him they
Will plot and plan.
But Ku-Klux-Klan
May rave and rant;
Beat Grant they can't,
They can't beat Grant.

tions to see the great editor, whose pen had entertained and instructed them and their fathers before them for many years. His speeches made on this tour were noted for their conservatism, their wisdom, and their tact. For the first time since Greeley's nomination the Grant managers began to feel alarmed.

Several states held elections early in the autumn, and these elections were now looked forward to by both sides with the keenest interest. North Carolina was the first of these early voting states, and both sides claimed the state beyond the peradventure of a doubt up to the closing of the polls on election day. The regular Republicans carried the state by a fair majority, and the Greeleyites now turned their attention to Vermont and Maine, which were to hold state elections a few weeks later. But these states followed the example of North Carolina. As the autumn passed, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Nebraska voted, and in all of them the Republicans were successful, except that Indiana selected a Democratic governor, though the legislature was Republican. The Greeley party still maintained a bold front, and professed to believe that their candidate would be elected President; but every intelligent man in the country knew that the reëlection of General Grant was now inevitable. And so it came to pass, Grant carried every state in the North and all but six in the South. Not since the election of Franklin Pierce over General Scott in 1852 had there been such a sweeping victory.

Mr. Greeley's defeat came upon him like a shock. It was not the simple defeat, for that was scarcely unexpected, even by him, but the overwhelming vastness of it that was crushing. Greeley was a sensitive soul. The praise or blame of his fellow-men had always affected him deeply, nor did his long years of experience in the midst of political

turmoil render him more callous than he had been in his young manhood. He had grown to believe, from his great editorial success, that his influence was vast and that he was one of the most highly honored among his countrymen. And now to have his idol shattered in a sudden, relentless stroke was more than his sensitive nature could bear. When the chief ambition of an ambitious man is suddenly shattered to fragments, the heart wound it produces is usually serious. Only the strongest nature can bear it.

Greeley could not realize that, of his thousands of friends, many had voted against him because they feared that a change in the Government at that time might not be for the better; but they were still his friends; many others had voted against him because he was in Democratic company. But Greeley could not see this; he saw only the result, and this convinced him that the people did not love him as he had confidently believed. He did not foresee that his countrymen, for generations after he was gone, would honor his memory and revere him as one of the leading Americans of his time. Moreover, he had just suffered the loss of his beloved wife, the companion of his long struggles, at whose dying bedside he had spent the closing weeks of the exciting campaign. Thus one misfortune followed another, and the burden was too heavy to be borne. Ere the close of the month that brought his great defeat, ere the shouts of victory for his successful rival had died out, while the echoes were still resounding and the lights were still burning, Horace Greeley was dead. After a long and tortuous journey — a journey full of light and shadow, with the deepest shadow at the closing — the weary traveler had come to the end and laid aside his staff.

CHAPTER XII

The Disputed Presidential Election of 1876

Only once in the history of our National Government has there been a disputed presidential election. Twice before,[1] it is true, the Electoral College had failed to choose a President and the election went to the House of Representatives, as provided by the Constitution; but in neither case was there any dispute as to how many votes had been cast for each candidate. In 1876, however, a contest arose as to which of the candidates had received a majority of the electoral votes; no decision was reached for several months after the vote of the people had been cast, and, indeed, the matter was settled only within a day or two of the time of the inauguration. At various times, during that winter of suspense, the peace of the country seemed to hang in the balance; but in the end the general good sense and moderation of the American people prevailed and the great question was settled without serious consequences.

For sixteen years the Republican party had held the reins of government. Its achievements were great and of permanent value; but it made many false steps, especially in the later years, and its hold upon the people was correspondingly weakened. In the congressional elections of 1874 the Democrats won a sweeping victory and gained full control of the lower House. It may seem strange that, considering the record of the Democratic party during the war, it again had control of the popular branch of Congress in less than ten

[1] First in 1800 and again in 1824.

years after the coming of peace. The chief cause is found in Republican blunders. Had the Republican party remained approximately as pure in practice during the first ten years of supremacy as it had been in theory at its founding, its very probity would have destroyed its wayward rival. Our political system is such that a party out of power fattens on the shortcomings of the dominant party. To this fact the Democrats owed much of their strength at the time we are treating. Even the Liberal Republican movement of 1872, though disastrously defeated at the polls, had proved a permanent benefit to the Democrats. The Democratic party went down in the disaster, it is true; but it had grown used to such defeats, and it rose with its usual resilience and with the party organization unimpaired. The Liberals, on the other hand, did not retain their party organization, and while the majority of them returned to the Republican fold, there were many who remained with the Democrats. Such leaders as Curtin and McClure and Trumbull and Ewing, with thousands of the rank and file, were henceforth identified with the Democratic party; hence that party was permanently strengthened by its Greeley escapade in 1872.

As the presidential contest of the centennial year approached the Democrats looked forward to it with hopefulness, even with confidence, and they were eager to enter the arena. The Republicans, on the other hand, felt insecure in their control of the Government. The more honorable of the party felt keenly the charges of corruption made by their antagonists, nor did they pretend to deny them. Some of them were open to the world and could not be denied. At the very time of the opening of the campaign a member of President Grant's cabinet had been impeached by the House, and was being tried by the Senate for bribery

and corruption. The Republicans, moreover, were at sea with regard to a candidate, while the Democrats fell under the leadership of a commanding genius whose name had become a synonym for reform throughout the country. From these facts it would seem that in entering the great contest the advantage lay with the Democrats.

THE TWO CANDIDATES

The Republicans met in national convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the fourteenth of June. For the first time since 1860 there was to be a real contest in the convention for a presidential candidate. Since the first nomination of Lincoln there had been no such contest; in each case it was easily foreseen who the candidate would be; the convention simply met and ratified the choice already made by the people. But in 1876 the wisest political seer was wholly at sea in forecasting the Republican ticket. The leader whose following was greatest was James G. Blaine of Maine; and his chances were further enhanced by his being placed in nomination by Colonel Ingersoll in a most brilliant outburst of eloquence that became historic, and made the speaker scarcely less famous than the one for whom he spoke. But there was a conservative element in the party whose confidence Mr. Blaine had failed to win. These were profoundly opposed to his nomination, and their strength was too great to be overcome.

Other prominent candidates were Senator Morton of Indiana, the brilliant Roscoe Conkling of New York, Mr. Bristow of Kentucky, former member of Grant's cabinet, ex-Governor Hartranft of Pennsylvania, and Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio.

Blaine led on the first ballot with 285; Morton came in second with 124. Next following in order were Conkling,

Hayes, and Hartranft, with a few scattering votes. Little change took place until the fifth ballot, when Michigan, whose vote had been scattered, cast her solid vote for Hayes. On the sixth ballot Hayes made further gains, and others dropped out until the contest was narrowed down to him and Blaine. The seventh ballot was cast, and Mr. Hayes was nominated by a small margin. William A. Wheeler of New York received the nomination for the vice-presidency.

Governor Hayes's selection was a surprise to the country. He may be classed among the "dark horse" candidates. He had not been looked upon as a national statesman nor a great party leader. Nevertheless his record was by no means to be despised. An Ohioan by birth, he was graduated at Kenyon College, after which he went to Harvard, and as a law student sat at the feet of the famous Judge Story. Returning to his native state, he began the practice of law in Fremont, but soon removed to Cincinnati, where he rose to be one of the leading members of the bar. In 1861 he offered his services to the cause of the Union and was made a major by Governor Dennison. Four years he served his country in the field, distinguished himself for bravery at South Mountain, at Winchester, at Cedar Creek, and elsewhere, was wounded four times, and returned to his home at the end of the war with the rank of brigadier general. While still in the field he was elected to the Lower House of Congress, in which he served two terms.

Four years he spent as a youth in college, four years in the war, four years he served in Congress, being first elected in 1864, four years and a little over he was governor of Ohio, and four years President of the United States — and in a public address late in life he stated that the happiest four years of his life were those he spent as a soldier battling for his country.

While Mr. Hayes was not a brilliant man, nor did his name create much enthusiasm in the party, there was a settled conviction on all sides that he was honest, straightforward, and beyond the reach of demagogues and ward politicians. His letter of acceptance was a wise and able document in which he pledged himself to a single presidential term, if elected.

The Democratic convention met in St. Louis two weeks after the nomination of Hayes. The party had been for years without a great leader, but this was not its condition in 1876. There had recently risen in the political firmament a star of the first magnitude in the person of Samuel J. Tilden of New York. He saw the party, as it were, a flock without a shepherd, and, conscious of his powers of leadership, he took command of his own will and there was none to dispute his sway. Tilden's nomination was a foregone conclusion. A furious effort was made by John Kelly, the Tamany leader of New York, to break the Tilden phalanx, but his efforts were fruitless. When the convention was ready for nominations a few states presented "favorite sons," but the Tilden wave swept all before it. Receiving over four hundred votes on the first ballot, but lacking a few of the requisite two-thirds, Tilden was unanimously nominated on the second.

Samuel J. Tilden was a great lawyer. He had amassed a large fortune. For many years he had practiced his profession, serving an occasional brief term in the New York legislature, assisting in the framing of the state constitution, rendering effective aid to his party from time to time as a member of the state committee, but he was not recognized as a great national leader until he had almost completed his threescore years. Mr. Tilden first attracted the notice of the country in his famous fight with Tammany Hall in

New York City. He was the conspicuous leader of the reform party that unearthed the gigantic frauds in the government of the city and resulted in the overthrow of the notorious "Tweed Ring." In 1874 he was elected governor of New York, and in this position he found ample opportunity to continue his work of reform. The "Canal Ring," which had looted the state of millions, was scarcely less infamous than the ring that had held the city by the throat for years. The new governor, who had so successfully grappled with the one, now addressed his personal attention to the other. He did not originate the new reform movement, it is true; that had been done already. But he gave his great talents to completing the overthrow of the public thieves, and he reaped a rich harvest of public approbation — more perhaps than he deserved, for the people are prone to applaud the one who is successful, while they too frequently forget the pioneers who go before and make success possible.

Tilden was beyond a doubt sincere in his work for reform; he was not a time-server nor a self-seeker. At the same time he was looking forward to the presidential nomination, as any honest man has a right to do. And his path was easy; not only did he hold in his grasp the Empire State, but he was now recognized throughout the country as the leader of the Democrats of the nation, and none could dispute the fact that he was the ablest of them all. He was further especially fitted to become the party nominee from the fact that the great work of his life had been in the line of reform, and reform must necessarily be the Democratic shibboleth in the coming presidential contest. The nomination of Tilden at St. Louis therefore came as naturally as the falling of ripened fruit.

ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN

The Republicans were on the defensive in the campaign of 1876. The Democratic cry was "Reform, Reform!" This was reiterated and reëchoed from all sides. The great city dailies and the village newspapers, the political orator of national fame, the local exhorter in the country schoolhouse — all joined in the one widespread cry of reform. And there was much ground for such a battle-cry. "During the whole of General Grant's second term of office a profound demoralization pervaded the Administration." [1] The Congress also was subject to the gravest charges of corruption. The infamous "Credit Mobilier" scandal was brought to light in 1873, and the names of various members of the House were tainted henceforth with dishonor. The same year witnessed an act known as the "Salary Grab," by which the members of Congress increased their own compensation by fifty per cent and made the act retroactive so as to apply to the Congress that had passed it. These and other scandals of lesser note made a deep impression on the country, resulted in a widespread reaction against the Republicans, and brought the Democratic "tidal wave" of 1874, which swept away the Republican majority of near a hundred in the House of Representatives, replacing it with a Democratic majority almost as great. This great anti-Republican wave had somewhat subsided in 1876, but it was still strong enough to give the Democrats the greatest hopes of success. Another element of Democratic strength was found in the financial panic of 1873. This unusual disturbance of the country's business was laid at the door of the Republican party, as all such disturbances are blamed on the party in power, guilty or not guilty. The Democrats,

[1] Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, p. 278.

however, were not careful to give credit to the Administration for the good it had done. They told the truth, but not the whole truth. The administration had made possible and provided for the return to specie payments; the "Salary Grab" Act was repealed by the same Congress that had passed it; the Alabama claims had been settled with honor to the United States; the naturalization laws had been extended to the alien African. For these facts the Democratic campaign orator had no use, and he left them unsaid.

The Republicans were not able to raise a counter-cry of corruption in public life against the Democratic party, for it had been out of power for many years. They opened the campaign with the old war-cry known as "waving the bloody shirt." The Democrats, North and South, they claimed, were still public enemies, and must be met at the polls in the same spirit as they had been met on the battle-field.[1] If the party succeeded to power the southern war debt would be paid, perhaps the black man reënslaved, and the like. The trouble with this campaign cry was that it was well worn. It had been used effectively in former years, but now only the least intelligent were frightened by it. The greenback heresy swept over the land about this time, and many Democrats had been tainted by it. In their platform they demanded the repeal of the Resumption Act of 1875; but the Republicans could make little capital of this from the fact that Tilden, in his letter of acceptance, had pronounced himself in favor of resumption, criticizing only the Republican method of bringing it about. These issues of the campaign becoming well worn and being deemed inadequate, the orators and editors next turned their attention to Mr. Tilden and attacked his character. They accused him of personal dishonesty in various railroad deals and

[1] *The Nation*, Vol. XXIII, p. 277.

asserted, also, that he had defrauded the Government in the early years of the war by non-payment of his income tax. The candidate was thus forced to deny the charges in an open letter, which satisfied his followers but failed to quiet his accusers. The influence of the Administration was used in every available manner to secure the election of Hayes.[1] A member of President Grant's cabinet was chairman of the Republican national committee, and he devoted his time and energies to the campaign, regardless of his official duties. As election day approached every one foresaw that the contest would be a close one, but no one was prepared for a long and exciting struggle to be continued throughout the

THE RETURNING BOARDS

The earliest reports on the night of election day seemed to indicate the election of Tilden. The Democratic electors had been chosen in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana exactly as Mr. Tilden had predicted. These, with a solid South, which was also counted on, would have given Tilden the election with a score or more votes to spare. So sure were the Democrats that they raised a shout of victory and lit their bonfires; but their ardor was soon cooled, for the Republicans, ere the dawn of the day following the election, put forth the positive claim that the electors for their candidates had been chosen in three of the southern states, and that they were elected. This was denied by the Democrats, and thus the great post-election contest was begun. The whole country was deeply stirred by the uncertainty of the situation. Both sides claimed to have carried the election. Weeks passed and wrought no change. Some actually feared that a war would result — an interne-

[1] *The Nation*, Vol. XXIII, *passim*.

cine war, the opposing forces divided on party lines — which, had it occurred, would have been the most appalling in all history.

But the majority displayed the greatest confidence in the great good sense of the American people, and refused to believe that the contest would result in bloodshed. This confidence was strengthened by a despatch from President Grant to General Sherman, commander of the army, by which the latter was enjoined to strengthen the military forces in the disputed states, so as to preserve good order and prevent any interference with the legal counting of the votes. Grant further added, "No man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it, if counted in or placed there by a fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result." This had a salutary effect in quieting the public mind.

The states in dispute were Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. The chances still seemed to favor Tilden, who was sure of 184 electoral votes without counting any of those in dispute, and but one more was required to elect him. If, therefore, he secured one vote from any of three states, he would have the requisite number and be elected. Mr. Hayes, on the other hand, must secure all the electors of these three states in order to become President. But Hayes's advantage lay in the fact that the official count in each disputed state was in the hands of members of his party;[1] he was therefore sure to receive justice if not more. The count in each of the three contested states was in the hands of the Returning Board. It was generally believed that the votes of South Carolina and Florida would be cast for Hayes, and so they were according to their respective Re-

[1] There was one Democrat on the Returning Board of Florida. Those of South Carolina and Louisiana were wholly Republican.

turning Boards. The contest in Louisiana attracted the most intense interest. The Returning Board in this state had been created in the worst days of the carpet-bag government, and contrary to all precedent and to all constitutional law, it had judicial as well as ministerial power. It could reject the votes of any parish or part of a parish on any ground that it chose to pronounce sufficient, and there was no appeal from its decision. The board was properly composed of five members; but in point of fact there were at this moment but three, and two of them were negroes.[1]

The situation was not only grave and peculiar; it was ludicrous. A great nation of fifty million people awaited with breathless interest for two black men, constituting the majority of the board and both recently emerged from slavery, to name its Chief Magistrate for the ensuing four years. The men were insignificant and unknown. One was a custom-house official and held his place at the will of the President; another had been a candidate for a petty office in the very election on which he now sat in judgment. Two years before, this same board, composed of the same men, had decided a state election, and a committee of Congress, including such leading Republicans as William A. Wheeler, Senators Hoar and Frye, went to Louisiana to investigate, and promptly condemned the proceeding as illegal and fraudulent.[2] What could now be expected from such a source? Prominent members of both parties hastened from the North to New Orleans to witness the proceedings and see fair play for their respective parties. Of these the Democrats proposed joint meetings with the Republicans, that both might witness the means by which the decision would be reached;

[1] *The Nation*, Vol. XXIII, p. 294.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 309.

but the Republicans refused all official relations with them. The matter was therefore wholly in Republican hands, and after some weeks of waiting the vote of the state was given to Hayes and Wheeler. Governor Kellogg, who held his position only by the support of Federal troops, promptly signed the certificates of the Republican electors.

With this decision the cry of fraud instantly arose from the Democratic press of the whole country. The leaders of the party protested vigorously against the decision of the Returning Boards of the three contested states. Mr. McEnery, who claimed to be elected governor by the opposite party, gave certificates to the Democratic electors. Many irresponsible and reckless Democrats declared that Mr. Tilden should call his followers to arms, for the purpose of seating him by force if necessary; but this was not the attitude of the party as a whole. Nevertheless, the danger was tremendous. The difficulty assumed the most serious aspect indeed, and the question of the hour was, How can the great contest be settled without violence? The Democrats proposed that the joint rule of Congress of February, 1865, be now followed. This rule was "that no electoral vote objected to shall be counted except by the concurrent votes of the two Houses." This was not an act of Congress, but simply a joint rule intended for that election only; it had been followed, however, by general consent in counting the electoral votes of 1868 and of 1872.[1] If the rule were now followed, the Democrats could easily prevent the seating of Hayes, for the lower House was Democratic by a strong majority. But the Republicans objected, and claimed that the president of the Senate on opening the ballots should decide on their validity. The Democrats objected to this, and both pretensions were abandoned.

[1] Blaine, Vol. II, p. 583.

THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

As the winter months passed, the anxiety of the country grew more and more intense. The attention of the world was drawn to the threatening condition of America. The country had just passed through a civil war, the like of which had never before been known in the history of man. Would these same people now engage in a far more deadly strife in order to settle a presidential dispute? Who could believe that the American people were so wanting in common sense? While the excitement was at its height, Senator Edmunds came forward with a bill that at last promised a solution to the problem. This bill provided for an "Electoral Commission" to be composed of fifteen persons, five each from the Senate, the House, and the Supreme Court, and these should finally decide on the validity of the electoral votes. It was passed by both Houses, and accepted by both parties. It was tacitly understood that the Senate would appoint three Republicans and two Democrats, while the House would appoint three Democrats and two Republicans. This was accordingly done. Four justices were then appointed, two of each party, and these were given power to select a fifth.[1] It was currently believed that Judge David Davis of Illinois would be the fifth member of the Commission from the Supreme Court, as he was looked upon as a neutral in politics; but, while the matter was pending, Davis was elected by the Democratic legislature of Illinois, to the United States Senate. His acceptance was a practical acknowledgment that he was not a neutral, but a Democrat, and Justice Bradley was selected on the Com-

[1] The Electoral Commission was composed of the following persons: — Justices of the Supreme Court: Clifford, Miller, Field, Strong, and Bradley. Senators: Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, and Thurman. Representatives: Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Garfield, and Hoar.

mission in his stead. This was a sore disappointment to the Democratic party, as Davis was known to have favored Tilden in the late campaign, while Bradley was reckoned as a Republican.

The Electoral Commission thus created was composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. It was hoped that this Commission would now rise above party lines and render a judicial verdict purely on the merits of the case; but such hopes were not to be realized. From each of the three disputed states double returns had been sent, and must be passed upon by the Commission, and in every case it voted on strictly party lines, deciding for Hayes and Wheeler by a vote of eight to seven.

There was a complication also in Oregon. The Republican electors had been chosen at the late election; but one of them, it was claimed, was disqualified to be an elector, and the Democratic governor gave a certificate to the elector of his own party who had received the highest number of votes. But the Commission promptly decided against him by the usual vote of eight to seven. General Hayes was therefore declared President-elect of the United States. The Commission sat for several weeks, during which the suspense and anxiety of the country was painful in the extreme. The ultimate decision was reached only two days before the time for the inauguration. The Democrats could not gracefully object to the decision of the Electoral Commission, as they had aided in its creation and had agreed to make it the final arbiter. But nevertheless they again raised the cry of fraud, not against the Commission, but against the Republican party for its high-handed methods in counting the electors of the southern states for Hayes by the aid of Federal troops. Mr. Tilden had received a popular majority in the election of a quarter of a million, and, as his fol-

lowers claimed, a clear majority of the electors, if honestly counted. That the Republicans had stolen the presidency was fully believed by a vast majority of the Democrats, and the same theory has many supporters to this day.

It is not for the writer of this chapter to pronounce any opinion on the merits of this question. Indeed, it is only after the chief actors in such a contest have all passed away that the critical historian can probe it to the bottom without awakening in his readers a sense of partisan bias in himself.

President Hayes felt keenly the accusation of his opponents that he was a fraudulent President, nor did he cease to feel it as long as he lived. But whatever his personal opinion in the matter, it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise than obey the mandate of his party when it called upon him to be installed into the great office. A refusal on his part, had he been inclined to refuse, would no doubt have led to more serious complications. Hayes made an excellent President — not great, not brilliant, but honest and patriotic in the highest sense; and not even his enemies could find any fault with him, except that he had accepted an office to which his election was doubtful.

The great relief at the end of the contest was felt on every hand. Boast as we may of our conservatism, it is certain that this disputed presidential election brought us to the verge of a precipice the height and depth of which not even the wisest could foresee.

CHAPTER XIII

The Garfield Tragedy

Three of our Presidents have died a natural death while in office, and three have suffered death at the hands of the assassin.[1] The first of these assassinations took place at the close of the great war, when the blood of both sides was still at boiling-point. But notwithstanding the fact that the people were long familiar with violence, with bloodshed and death, the shock to the country at the taking-off of the beloved War-President was greater than could be measured. The assassin, a man of intelligence and talent, was insanely devoted to the cause of the South, and seemed to believe that by this act he would avenge the wrongs of the people who had failed to achieve victory on the battle-field.

The second occurred in time of peace, and had its origin in a political feud within the party to which the President belonged, and in the chimerical brain of a half-witted fanatic, who was senseless enough to believe that he would be made a hero for his deed by the faction that had opposed the President. It is to this event and the conditions that produced it that we devote this chapter.

THE BLAINE-CONKLING FEUD

The Garfield tragedy had its origin about fourteen years before it occurred, in a quarrel between two Republican

[1] An attempt was made to assassinate President Jackson in 1835. He was attending the funeral of a member of Congress, when in the midst of the crowd a man snapped two pistols at his breast, both of which missed fire. The President rushed upon the would-be assassin with his cane. The man was taken into custody, was found to be a demented Englishman named Lawrence, and was placed in an asylum. The President's escape was very narrow, as both pistols were afterward fired at the first trial.

leaders while both were members of the House of Representatives. In 1863 a young editor from Maine, a native of Pennsylvania, made his first appearance on the floor of the Lower House, and began a career of party leadership unparalleled since the rise of the matchless Henry Clay half a century before. His name was James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine had descended from a prominent family with whom the Father of his Country was on friendly terms. There was nothing in his boyhood to mark him as a youth of extraordinary promise. He received a good education, spent his early manhood as a teacher, and became editor of the *Kennebec Journal* in Augusta, Maine, at the age of twenty-four. He was not long in his new position before he was recognized by the community as a keen and able political writer. Within three years we find him in the legislature of his adopted state. In 1862 he was elected to the lower House of Congress. This was in the midst of the troublous war times, and Congress was not without powerful leaders, but Mr. Blaine was not long in stepping to the front, and proving himself one of the most powerful.

Another young Republican leader of remarkable talent was Roscoe Conkling of New York. Mr. Conkling had sat in the House for some years before the advent of Blaine, and when Blaine began to attract attention, Conkling looked with a jealous eye upon his growing rival, and it seemed inevitable that a clash between the two must soon come, and the leadership of the House be thus determined.

Blaine and Conkling were wholly unlike in mental endowments. Blaine addressed himself to the hearts of his followers, Conkling to their heads. Blaine won affection and allegiance; Conkling won admiration and praise. Blaine delighted in winning a new friend, whom he grappled to his soul with hooks of steel; Conkling's delight was to slash and

wound an enemy with his wit and sarcasm, or to dazzle his hearers with rounded periods of eloquence. As a party leader, a winner of popular applause, Blaine far surpassed Conkling. As an orator of brilliant diction and rhetorical power, Conkling far excelled Blaine.

These two rival leaders must necessarily come into conflict. The occasion arose in April, 1866, when a bill to reorganize and establish the army was before the House. One section of the bill provided for the office of provost marshal-general, who should have charge of the recruiting service and of the apprehension of deserters, and that General James B. Fry be appointed to the position. Conkling bitterly opposed this section on the ground "that it creates an unnecessary office for an undeserving public servant." Bad blood existed between Conkling and Fry, and this perhaps had much to do with the attack. When Conkling began to speak, Blaine, who was a member of the committee that had the bill in charge, was in the diplomatic gallery, talking with a friend; but his quick ear caught the tenor of the New Yorker's speech, and he hastened to his seat and took the floor the moment the speaker had finished.[1] Blaine pronounced General Fry an able and efficient officer, whose character was without spot or blemish. He referred to a quarrel between Conkling and Fry, in which the former had come out "second best." He further stated that he did not consider it the highest specimen of chivalry or a creditable proceeding to attack Fry's character when he had no opportunity to be heard. "My sense of indignation," he continued, "carries me beyond my personal strength, and impels me to denounce such a course of proceeding."

Conkling was highly irritated at this speech. He rose to speak again. The House was profoundly attentive. Conk-

[1]Gail Hamilton, *Biography of Blaine*, p. 161.

ling brushed aside the question under discussion, and addressed himself directly to the Maine statesman.

"I am entirely responsible," he averred, "not only here but elsewhere, for what I have said . . . To the particular individual to whom it may give offence I will answer not here but elsewhere.

"I say, further, that the statement made by the gentleman from Maine with regard to myself personally, and my quarrels with General Fry and their result, is false."

Blaine. "What does the gentleman mean to say was false?"

Conkling. "I mean to say that the statement made by the gentleman from Maine was false."

Blaine. "What statement?"

Conkling. "Does not the gentleman understand what I mean?"

Conkling then proceeded to explain that he referred to Blaine's assertion that he, Conkling, had quarreled with Fry and was worsted — that he, Conkling, branded as a falsehood. Conkling stated also that he would not be found wanting in courage, if called on to answer for his language.

A few minutes later Blaine again had the floor. The excitement throughout the House and galleries was now at fever heat. Blaine's speech was filled with unconcealed contempt.

"Sir," he began, "I do not know how to characterize this utterance. When we had gentlemen here from the eleven seceded states, they used to talk about answering 'here and elsewhere'; and it was understood that they meant a duel. . . . When a man says he is ready to answer 'here and elsewhere,' he means that he is ready to receive a note outside of the District of Columbia. Well, now, that is very cheap, and certainly beneath my notice. I do not believe

the gentleman from New York wants to fight a duel; and I am sure he needs no assurance from me that I do not intend it. . . . When I have to resort to . . . this cheap swagger about being responsible 'here or elsewhere,' I shall have very little faith in the cause which I stand up to sustain."

Thus ended the day; but the battle was not over. After the session had closed, Conkling went to the office of the *Congressional Globe* and made some alterations in his reported speeches of the day. Among other things he substituted for the phrase "here and elsewhere" the milder form "at all times and places." Blaine discovered this, and the next day took his opponent severely to task for making the change and thus rendering his own repetition of "here and elsewhere" meaningless, and stated that when two gentlemen engaged in a controversy, as a point of honor it should be reported and printed exactly as it took place. Mr. Blaine closed with these words: "Mr. Speaker, I never expected to make a personal explanation in this House in my life. As to courage, I am like the Methodist deacon about his religion, I have none to speak of."

Mr. Conkling answered in a sharp, impassioned speech, and avowed himself "as incapable as the gentleman from Maine pretends to be" of violating a point of honor, characterized his antagonist's remarks as "frivolously impertinent and incorrect," and his imputation of duelism as "a cheap way of clawing off."

Thus closed the second day; but the climax was yet to come. Blaine had secured a writing from General Fry to prove that Conkling had quarreled with Fry, the accusation of which Conkling had pronounced false. Fry, also, in this document, accused Conkling of receiving a fee of $3000 as judge advocate while a member of Congress, in violation of the Constitution. This opened a new subject, and the

debate between the Maine and New York statesmen went on increasing in bitterness. Blaine declared that he did not believe Conkling had rightfully received the money in question. Conkling avowed that it was paid him, not as judge advocate, but as counsel in the practice of his profession.

Blaine leaped from his seat and asked to make a statement. Conkling refused to yield him the floor. His anger was now beyond his control, and when the Speaker asked, "Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from Maine?" Conkling shouted, "No, sir, I do not wish to have anything to do with the member from Maine. . . . Mr. Speaker, if the member from Maine had the least idea how profoundly indifferent I am to his opinion upon the subject which he has been discussing, or upon any other subject personal to me, I think he would not take the trouble to rise here and express his opinion."

Blaine's anger was now equally uncontrollable. He once more took the floor when his enemy had concluded. He completely lost his temper, and poured forth one of the most extravagant tirades of invective and vituperation ever heard on the floor of Congress. After giving his views on the subject under debate, he turned to Conkling with a look of withering scorn, and spoke as follows: "As to the gentleman's cruel sarcasm, I hope he will not be too severe. The contempt of that large-minded gentleman is so wilting, his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic supereminent, over-powering, turkey-gobbler strut has been so crushing to myself and to all the members of the House, that I know it was an act of the greatest temerity for me to venture upon a controversy with him."

Referring now to a newspaper article in which Conkling had been compared to the late brilliant Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, Blaine closed with these words: "The gentle-

man took it [the newspaper article] seriously, and it has given his strut additional pomposity. The resemblance is great, it is striking: Hyperion to a Satyr, Thersites to Hercules, mud to marble, dunghill to diamond, a singed cat to a Bengal tiger, a whining puppy to a roaring lion. Shade of the mighty Davis, forgive the almost profanation of that jocose satire!"

The House apologized to itself for permitting such a speech to be uttered. The Speaker laid the blame on the House, and said that if any member had called the gentleman to order the rules would have been enforced. Mr. Conkling was mortally offended, and from this day forth to the end of his life he never spoke to Mr. Blaine. Not long after this Conkling was transferred to the Senate, where he served for many years. Blaine became Speaker of the House. In later years friends of the two attempted to bring about a reconciliation between them. Blaine expressed his willingness, but Conkling met every overture with a scornful refusal.

A quarrel between two statesmen may often be passed over as of a personal and temporary nature and without serious effect on the country at large. Sometimes, however, a personal feud between two leaders of the same party may have a far-reaching effect on the political life of the nation. Who can measure the result on the country of the quarrel between Jackson and Calhoun in 1830? Calhoun's life ambition was to become President of the United States, and it was believed on all sides that he would be the one on whose shoulders the mantle of Old Hickory would fall. But the hold of Jackson on the Democratic party was such that no one could hope to be chosen to the high office at that time without his favor. The hopes of Calhoun were forever blasted by this open rupture, and he turned aside and became

the champion of slavery. The effect of this feud between these two men can be estimated only when one remembers that it was Calhoun above all men that brought about the conditions which produced the Civil War.

Again, in 1848, the entire machinery of the Government was thrown into the hands of a different political party on account of the envious jealousy of one man — Martin Van Buren. There is little doubt that General Lewis Cass would have been elected President in 1848 but for the enmity of Van Buren, who allowed his name to head the Free Soil ticket, and thus threw the vote of New York and of the nation to General Taylor.

This Blaine-Conkling episode had its result. Some of Blaine's biographers profess to believe that the New York senator never seriously injured his great rival's political fortunes; but the facts are otherwise. There is no doubt that Blaine would have received the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1880 but for the powerful and determined opposition of Conkling. Four years later when Blaine became the candidate, it was in Conkling's power to secure his election; but he refused to do it. The mighty Achilles sulked in his tent and took no part in the canvass. His immediate friends understood it, and great numbers of them refused to vote for the enemy of their idol, many voting for Cleveland. The falling off of the Republican vote in Conkling's home county alone was sufficient to throw the state to the Democrats, and New York, in 1884, as in 1848, was the pivotal state and decided the presidential election. Had Conkling made a single speech, had he raised a finger in favor of Blaine, in spite of the St. John vote, in spite of the opposition of Henry Ward Beecher and George William Curtis, in spite of the unfortunate Burchard alliteration, the Empire State would have cast its vote for the "magnetic man" from

Maine, and he would have been elected. But Conkling remembered the insult of eighteen years before, the "turkey-gobbler strut," the "mud to marble," the "dunghill to diamond," the "singed cat to a Bengal tiger," and his high-poised soul could not forgive. He took his revenge, and Blaine never became President.

THE THIRD-TERM MOVEMENT

For ten years James G. Blaine was the undisputed leader of the Republicans in the House. He was elected Speaker in 1869, and continued to fill the office for six years when the Democrats gained control of that body. After fourteen years' service in the House he entered the Senate. Still he kept his hand upon the helm and was looked upon by the rank and file of his party as the leading Republican of his time. At the national Republican convention of 1876, his vote on the first ballot far exceeded that of any one else; yet he was not a "favorite son" candidate; his vote was spontaneous and came from twenty-eight states and seven territories. Failing to receive the nomination, and President Hayes being pledged to a single term, Blaine was generally looked upon as the coming man for 1880. But a change came o'er the spirit of his dream.

General Grant, on ceasing to be President, had made a tour of the world. He had been highly honored by foreign peoples and potentates, not only as an American and an ex-President, but chiefly as a soldier, for the lingering chivalry in the minds of men still places the warrior above the statesman, the poet, or the orator. Grant's reception by the world became a matter of national pride to the whole American people; and when, at the end of three years, the illustrious traveler returned to his native land — when the vessel had safely breasted the billows of the broad Pacific

and was moored in the haven at the Golden Gate, a wild shout of welcome arose from the people. His tour from San Francisco across the continent to Philadelphia, whence he had started three years before, was one unbroken ovation. Men forgot the scandals of his administration; their minds went back to remoter days; they saw now in his silent dignity the hero of Fort Donelson, of Vicksburg, of Appomattox.

This unusual honor rendered General Grant by the masses was in the main sincere and spontaneous, and was given on the supposition that the general had retired from public life and now desired to spend the remainder of his days in rest and quiet. But the wily politician was on the alert. Why let all this enthusiasm go to waste? There was a faction in the Republican party, and a large faction, that wanted a man. They looked with dismay on the growing clamor for Blaine, and they must find one to put up against him. They also reasoned, and they reasoned well, that the only man in the party who could at all compare with the Maine statesman in the popular heart was General Grant. This faction now determined to use every available means to undermine the prestige of Blaine and secure the nomination of Grant at the coming Republican convention. The leader of this movement, a man of vast resources and power, was Roscoe Conkling of New York.

We have had three Presidents, and only three in our history, who, having served two terms, could have been elected to a third (in the writer's opinion) had they desired it; they were George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson. Grant was the first to desire a third term.

But Grant is not supposed to have aspired to a third election until his friends led him to do so. It must be admitted, however, that he stated in a letter as early as 1875 that he did not desire a third term "any more than he had desired

the first," which, being interpreted, means that, as he had accepted a first term without protest, it would not be difficult to induce him to accept a third.

Conkling, however, assisted by two powerful co-workers, Don Cameron of Pennsylvania and John A. Logan of Illinois, was at the bottom of the third-term movement. This great triumvirate, each at the head of his state delegation, went to Chicago determined and confident. It is true the recent Grant enthusiasm had subsided when it was found that the general would again enter the arena for public honors. It is also true that a deep-seated anti-third-term prejudice must be overcome, for an unwritten law, hitherto unbroken, was that no man serve more than eight years in the great office. Nevertheless, these men felt confident, and they went to the convention with the air of him that putteth off his harness rather than of him that girdeth it on.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

The great convention met the first week in June. For some months before this meeting an exciting warfare had been going on in Republican ranks throughout the country in choosing delegates. So bitter was the contest between the friends of Grant and of Blaine that many feared a reconciliation would be impossible even after the convention had made its choice. Scarcely a county in the country was free from this factional fight. The chief battle-grounds, however, were the state conventions. In many there was open hostility. In the Georgia convention each faction elected its chairman; both took the stage at the same moment and called loudly for order, but neither could be heard for the cries and yells of the dark audience. Similar scenes occurred in many states. Blaine was the choice of nearly all New England and of the Middle Wext. Grant's support

came largely from the South, and from New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. Had the people chosen freely and without dictation from the bosses, Blaine would have easily won. He was the popular choice beyond a doubt. He stole a portion of the New York delegation from Conkling, twenty-three from Cameron in Pennsylvania, and Grant's own state, Illinois, would have gone to him in a body but for the herculean efforts of Logan and Washburn. John Sherman, a third candidate, failed to hold the full strength of Ohio, several of the delegates openly declaring for Blaine.

The Grant forces were managed with far greater skill than those of Blaine. The nomination of the "magnetic man" would never have been doubtful had his generals in command been equal to Conkling and Cameron. But the Grant forces lost in the preliminary battle when the convention decided against the unit rule, thus permitting the stray Blaine men from Grant states to vote as they chose. A second blow to the Grant interests was a written statement signed by Judge W. H. Robertson and twenty-one followers, all delegates from New York, openly rebelling against Conkling's iron rule and declaring that they would not vote for Grant. These two preliminary defeats proved fatal to the nomination of Grant, but they did not insure the nomination of Blaine.

After two or three days of sparring for position the convention was ready to receive nominations. Conkling himself placed his candidate before the vast assemblage in one of his masterly orations. "His polished blows at Blaine were as terrible as they were eloquent, and his epigrammatic tributes to Grant exhausted the power of language. . . . The speech was equal to Ingersoll's speech for Blaine in 1876 in eloquence and power." [1] He pronounced the name of Grant the most illustrious borne by any living man.

[1] A. K. McClure in *Philadelphia Times*, June 6, 1880.

James F. Joy of Michigan presented the name of Blaine, but his effort was lifeless compared with that of Conkling. Next to Conkling's brilliant oration must be ranked the one delivered by James A. Garfield in presenting the name of John Sherman of Ohio. An incident occurred while Garfield was speaking that would scarcely be remembered but for the unexpected outcome of the convention. After the speaker had finished his exordium he continued, "But now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want?" Here he paused, and a voice, clear and loud, rang out from the depths of the vast assemblage — "Garfield."

A few minutes later the speaker, reaching another climax, said, "Therefore, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to take calm counsel together, and inquire what we shall do," and again he paused. Again arose the voice, clearer and louder than before, "Nominate Garfield." [1] This was followed by some applause, but the orator continued unperturbed.

On the first ballot Grant led with 304 votes, lacking 75 of enough to nominate him; Blaine followed with 284, Sherman had 93, Windom, Washburn, and Edmunds receiving many scattering votes. The second ballot was substantially the same as the first — but there was one ominous vote for Garfield cast by a stray Pennsylvanian that Cameron had failed to gather within his fold.

For several days the balloting continued. The weather was hot; the people were weary. When would the end come? Thirty-three ballots were cast with no material change — Garfield receiving his uniform support — one vote, now and then augmented to two. Grant's vote had settled at 306, and here it stood like a solid wall.

[1] Many afterward believed the rumor that Garfield had hired the man who thus shouted. Sherman always believed that Garfield betrayed him in this convention, but there is no evidence of this.

On the thirty-fourth ballot, a break in the clouds was descried. Wisconsin cast 14 votes for Garfield, and the act was cheered. Garfield rose and protested that he was not a candidate, and that no one should vote for him. When the convention spoke again, Indiana followed the lead of Wisconsin and the Ohio man had 50 votes. Now there was a mighty surging, a general breaking up, a rush for Garfield. The Blaine men, the Sherman men, the Windom men, the Washburn men — all but the Grant phalanx of 306 — made a dash for Garfield, and he was nominated on the thirty-sixth ballot.

The scene was indescribable. The boom of cannon from without, the bands of music within, mingled with the wild huzzas of the multitude, and the uproar was deafening. Banners and flags were seized by willing hands and waved over the head of the new-made hero. He was called on for a speech, but he could not speak; he sat in his chair on the stage, dazed and speechless with emotion, and seemed as one awaking from a dream.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD

Garfield was not the choice of the Chicago convention. Not a score of the delegates, perhaps, would deliberately have made him their choice for President. His nomination was an accident. The chances of Windom or of Edmunds or of Washburn would have been considered far better than his, when the convention met. But he became the dark-horse nominee, because he happened to be on the uppermost crest of the popular wave when the inevitable break came.

His nomination proved salutary to the party. The politicians at first demurred; but the people rejoiced that the

party was rescued from the threatening factional quarrel, and all were soon united for the success of the ticket, the Grant wing having been placated by the nomination of Chester A. Arthur of New York for second place.

The career of Garfield was a notable one. He had sprung from the commonest walks of life. His father was a plodding farmer, hewing his living from the sparsely settled forest of northern Ohio, where James was born in 1831. Two years later the father died. As the boy grew toward manhood he yearned for an education, and between the working hours — on the farm in summer, in the carpenter shop in winter, and occasionally driving the mules of a canal boat — he succeeded in preparing for college. Having taken a classical course, he became a professor and then president of Hiram College. In 1859 he was elected to the Ohio legislature, where he attracted attention by his eloquence and straightforwardness, especially when upholding the cause of the Union at the outbreak of the war. Later, we find him at the front, leading a band of troops against the forces of secession. His most brilliant work on the battle-field was at Chickamauga, where he did more perhaps than any one else except General Thomas to save the Union army from rout. In the autumn of 1862 he was elected to the lower House of Congress, and, thinking the war would soon be over, he resigned his commission in the army, and entered the legislative halls at Washington. Here he served for eighteen years without a break, representing the famous district that had for so many years been represented by Joshua R. Giddings. He steadily rose in the estimation of his fellows, until, in 1877, when Blaine was transferred to the Senate, Garfield succeeded him as leader of the party in the House. In January, 1880, Garfield was chosen by the Ohio legislature to a seat in the United States Senate; but,

before entering on his new duties, he received the nomination for the presidency at Chicago.

Garfield was not great or brilliant; he was sturdy and reliable. He did not excel in social circles; all through his life it was not difficult to see that he was country bred. He kept himself thoroughly informed concerning the business of Congress. His industry was prodigious. No schoolboy could improve his time better or study more diligently than did Garfield. A little incident will illustrate. One day a friend came into his room and found Mr. Garfield deeply engrossed in a pile of books on his table. Seeing that all the books were about the Latin poet, Horace, the friend asked what it meant. "I find that I am overworked and need recreation," answered the Congressman. "My theory is that the best way to rest the mind is, not to let it be idle, but to put it at something quite outside of the ordinary line of employment; so I am resting by learning all the Congressional Library can show about Horace."[1] General Garfield, however, was to some extent wanting in will power. It was not difficult for him to stand among the foremost in advocating a party measure; but it was not in his fiber to stand out alone, and advocate a measure on principle. One of his contemporaries, who was also his friend, has spoken of him as a "moral invertebrate."

THE CLOSING SCENES

The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, the hero of Gettysburg, to head their ticket, and William H. English of Indiana for second place. Hancock was an admirable character — not a statesman, but an ideal soldier, and the qualities of the soldier in those days appealed to the people more readily than anything else. Not

[1] *Philadelphia Times*, June 9, 1880.

even the Republican press attempted to find fault with Hancock. But the Democratic tidal wave of a few years before had greatly subsided, and Garfield was elected.

Garfield chose Blaine for Secretary of State. This was galling to the Stalwart[1] leader of New York. Conkling had been deeply chagrined at Chicago, when the lifelong friend of his lifelong enemy received the nomination. He had supported the nominee, however, in a lukewarm manner, but now he was thrown into a belligerent mood at seeing Blaine made the head of the cabinet.

Blaine could not but feel a sense of triumph over Conkling. He had, on several occasions, expressed his willingness to be reconciled to his antagonist, but at heart he thoroughly disliked Conkling, and had no desire to be his friend. Conkling was bold and open in his antagonism; Blaine was wily and cunning, nor did he lose an opportunity to give the enraged lion a stealthy prod, making him roar the louder, and then turn to an inquiring public with, "What is he howling about?"

Blaine and Garfield had been close friends for many years. Fourteen years they served together in the House, and in all those years there had never even been a coolness between them. It is often said that two leaders in such a body cannot get on without quarrelling; and this was no exception to the rule, for only one was a leader — Garfield was a follower.

President Garfield quickly realized that his party was rent in twain, and each faction more ready to make war upon the other than to hold up the hands of the President, — and he instinctively leaned on his great Secretary of State. Blaine was a great man, but not too great morally to stoop to humble an old enemy when in his power to do so.

[1] See footnote on page 206.

It is the custom for a President, in making local appointments in a state, to confer with the senators and representatives of his party from that state, and, in a great measure, to be guided by their wishes. Garfield made several New York appointments that were pleasing to Conkling and his friends. But the President astonished the Senate and the country by the appointment to the most important office in the state of an open enemy of Conkling, and this without the knowledge or consent of Conkling. He appointed Judge Robertson collector of the port of New York. Robertson was the man who had led the break in the New York delegation at Chicago and had voted for Blaine; nor did any one doubt that it was the Secretary of State who now brought about his appointment to the collectorship. An appointment more offensive to Conkling could not have been made. He and his colleague, Thomas C. Platt, wrote a most vigorous protest, requesting, almost demanding, that Robertson's name be withdrawn. The President positively refused to withdraw it — that is to say, Secretary Blaine refused, for Garfield had no personal object in offending Conkling or in promoting Robertson.

Conkling's next move was to prevent the ratification of the nomination by the Senate. He used every means in his power to do this, but for once "senatorial courtesy" was suspended, and when Conkling saw that he could not accomplish his end, he and Platt resigned their seats in the United States Senate.

Both men expected to be triumphantly reëlected by the New York legislature, but it happened that there were some twenty Republican members of the legislature, led by Robertson himself, now president of the state senate, who were unfriendly to Conkling and Platt, and, after many weeks of fruitless balloting, both were set aside and others chosen

in their stead. Thus ended the public career of Roscoe Conkling. He never afterward appeared in public life. This factional quarrel between the Stalwarts and the Half-breeds[1] had now reached an acute stage, and the integrity of the Republican party was seriously threatened. Conkling had many friends in his own state and elsewhere who were deeply offended at his treatment by the Administration.

There was a man from New York claiming to be a lawyer and a "Stalwart of the Stalwarts," who took upon himself the task of reuniting the Republican party by "removing" the President. This irresponsible "crank," Charles Jules Guiteau by name, hatched a scheme within his own disordered and egotistical brain to assassinate President Garfield, apparently believing that this course would bring harmony to the distracted party and honor to himself.

For six weeks the wily assassin lurked about the streets of the capital city awaiting his opportunity, his dastardly purpose known only to himself. One day when the President was leaving the city with Mrs. Garfield, who was ill, the ever watchful foe was ready to fire the fatal shot; his hand was on the trigger, but, as he afterward related, his heart failed him; Mrs. Garfield looked so weak and frail that he could not shoot her husband in her presence. Again, he followed the President to church; but when about to fire, his hand stayed from fear that he might kill some one else. On several other occasions he lurked through dark streets and beneath the shadows of the trees watching for his victim. At length the opportunity came.

It was known throughout the city that the President would leave for a brief New England tour on the morning of July 2 by way of the Baltimore and Potomac Railway. Garfield

[1] The Conkling faction of the party were called "Stalwarts;" the faction to which Garfield and Blaine belonged were known as "Half-breeds."

alighted from his carriage and walked to the ladies' waiting room arm in arm with Secretary Blaine. In the sparse crowd there was a middle-aged man of light, sallow complexion, hollow cheeks, and slender frame. He paced restlessly to and fro, looking furtively out of the window now and then with strangely glaring eyes. Now, as the President passed him he stepped forward, drew from his pocket a large-caliber revolver, took deliberate aim, and fired. The President turned quickly to see whence the report had come, when a second shot laid him fainting and bleeding upon the floor. The crowd was struck with horror and indignation as they realized that a dreadful tragedy had been enacted before their eyes.

The bullet had entered the back to the right of the spine, had taken a downward course, and lodged in the body. The victim was laid upon a mattress by loving hands. His eyes were closed, he neither stirred nor spoke, and his face was deadly pale. At first it was believed that he would die within the hour; but presently he opened his eyes and said to a friend:

"I want to send a message to 'Crete' [the pet name for his wife, Lucretia, who was absent]; tell her I am seriously hurt — how seriously I cannot yet say. I am myself, and hope she will soon come to me."

The assassin Guiteau was instantly seized and taken into custody. He had a carriage waiting at the station, hired to take him to the jail, as he said. In his possession was found a paper written by himself before the tragedy. Its contents are plainly the product of a disordered brain. They are in part as follows:

To the White House:—

The President's death was a sad necessity, but it will unite the Republican party and save the Republic. . . . I presume the

President was a Christian, and that he will be happier in paradise than here. It will be no worse for Mrs. Garfield, dear soul, to part with her husband this way than by natural death. . . . I had no ill will toward the President. His death was a political necessity. I am a lawyer, a theologian, and a politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with General Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I am going to the jail.

CHARLES GUITEAU.

Guiteau was kept closely confined until the autumn, when he was arraigned and tried for murder. The trial was long and apparently fair — but only apparently. The American people, especially the Half-breeds, were not only deeply saddened by the tragedy, they were wrought up to a high degree of anger, and demanded a victim. Threats of violence were not wanting against any juror who dared cast his ballot for acquittal. But no threats were needed. The jury reflected public opinion, and Guiteau was promptly convicted and hanged. He should have been shut up for the remainder of his natural life in an insane asylum.

The stricken President hovered between life and death during the hot summer weeks. The nation watched and waited and prayed. Messages of sympathy were received from nearly all the leading sovereigns of the world. At times it was believed that the famous patient would recover; but a few days of such hope were always followed by more depressing news. During the long struggle the President often conversed with friends; at times he was hopeful, then again despondent; he signed a few official papers, but was never able to raise his head from the pillow. Late in August he was removed from the White House to a cottage by the sea, but the benefit was slight and of short duration. One day the President in a feeble voice asked his friend, Mr. Swaim, "Do you think my name will fill a place in

human history?" "Yes, a noble one," was the answer, "and there is much yet for you to do." "No," was the response, "my work is done."

From this moment it was evident that the President had no hope of recovery. But the people still hoped on for two weeks longer, when the dreaded messenger came and claimed his own. It was on the nineteenth of September, near the hour of midnight, after a day of pain and extreme weakness, that the President awoke from a fitful slumber, and, placing his hand to his side, exclaimed, "Oh, Swaim, there is an awful pain there," sank back on his pillow, and expired. A few hours later — some time before daylight the following morning — Chester A. Arthur took the oath of office in his own house in the city of New York, and the chief magistracy passed into the hands of the Stalwarts.

The people had watched the hourly bulletins, and in grief and silence had learned to expect the worst; but yet they were shocked at the sudden news of the death of the President. The first shock soon gave way to reverent awe and silent resignation to the decree of God. The dead President was taken to Cleveland, Ohio, the beautiful lake city near which he had been born and had always lived. Here, on a grassy mound overlooking the lake, whose waters now moan a perpetual requiem, the body was laid to rest.

CHAPTER XIV

The Spanish War

Of all great nations of the world ours is preëminently the nation of peace. The year 1898 marks our first war with a European power except with the Power from which we won our independence. This war with Spain will doubtless take the name in history of "The Spanish War" in this country, while in Spain it will probably be known as "The American War."

THE CUBAN REVOLT

At the beginning of the nineteenth century almost all of South America and Central America belonged to Spain. But so oppressive and inefficient was Spanish rule that the inhabitants of the various colonies revolted against the mother country in the early part of the century, and, after a long struggle of ten years or more, won their independence. Cuba and Porto Rico alone in the Western Hemisphere remained to Spain. The Cubans, however, had never been contented under Spanish government. In 1826 a revolt in Cuba was put down with a strong hand. A few years later another insurrection met with the same fate. In each case the leaders were executed. In 1850 and again in 1851 Narcisco Lopez led an expedition against the island in the interest of the slaveholders of the United States, the object being to wrest it from Spain, annex it to the United States, and

thus extend slave territory. But the Cubans were not at that moment in a condition to join the invaders, and the movement met with disastrous failure, Lopez being garroted in the public square at Havana. During the following years the people of Cuba attempted by peaceful methods to secure from the Spanish Government some mitigation of their wrongs: but without success.

In 1868 a revolt against Spain, far more formidable than any that preceded it, broke out in Cuba. It was led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, assisted by Calixto Garcia and others, and was confined to the eastern shore of the island. The Spanish Government, although in the throes of a revolution at home, sent an army to put down the insurrection. But it was not successful and the war continued for ten years. The American people were deeply interested in the progress of the war, and our Government offered to put an end to the strife by purchasing the island; but Spain refused to sell it. In 1873 an event occurred that led the Americans to take a more vital interest in the matter. The *Virginius*, an American merchant vessel, was captured by the Spanish man-of-war *Tornado* on the high seas near Jamaica, the ground being that she intended furnishing men and munitions for the Cuban insurgents. The captain and a number of the crew were shot. A war feeling in the United States soon rose; but the Spanish authorities were prompt to make ample reparation, and the matter was dropped. The rebellion continued, and Spain, after spending millions of dollars and finding herself wholly unable to suppress it, promised the Cubans the reforms for which they had fought. The insurgents accepted the offer and laid down their arms; but scarcely had they done so when Spain violated every promise and resumed the government of the island with the same tyrannical hand as before.

The matter now slumbered for thirteen years, during which Spain held the island in a condition of servitude by oppressive taxation and by sending over a vast number of carpet-baggers to hold the offices and grow rich by looting the natives. During all these years the people of Cuba were watching and waiting for another opportunity to rebel. In February, 1895, the storm broke forth more furiously than ever before. In half a year the insurgents had swept over the island from Santiago to the suburbs of Havana, and had taken possession of a large part of the island outside the cities and towns. The leader of the rebellion was the sagacious old general, Maximo Gomez, ably assisted by Garcia, who had made himself famous in the ten years' war, and by Maceo, the dashing young mulatto cavalry leader, who gave his life to the cause. The plan of Gomez was to avoid pitched battles, to harass the Spaniards, by skirmishes and by ravaging the country, so as to prevent their collecting the usual revenue. By this plan Gomez hoped to exhaust the treasury of Spain and win independence, or to bring about the intervention of the United States. In the one important battle of the war (Bayamo, July 13, 1895), the Cubans were successful and came near making Captain-General Campos a prisoner. Some months later Campos was recalled by the Spanish Government and Weyler was sent in his stead. Weyler had already an unsavory reputation for brutality and corruption, and his brief reign in Cuba did nothing to redeem it.

A large portion of the Cuban peasantry remained quietly on their farms and took no part in the war. They were called "*pacificos*." To prevent these people from supplying the insurgent army with food, General Weyler issued an edict in the autumn of 1896 that the army forcibly concentrate this rural population into the garrisoned towns. This

was carried out with heartless severity, and these poor people were thus driven from their homes at the point of the bayonet, and deprived of their only means of livelihood. Weyler was unable to feed them, nor would he permit them to earn their own living. What could they look forward to but starvation? In a few months their provisions were well-nigh exhausted; by the following spring the death-rate was frightful. The Spaniards looked on with complacency; their object seemed to be to depopulate the island. Not Weyler alone, but the whole Spanish Government, was responsible for this inhuman and savage measure. The Queen Regent of Spain, with all her intelligence and good qualities, set her hand and seal to this infamous edict. These Cubans, now called "*reconcentrados*," were perishing by thousands, and the voice of their blood cried out from the ground unto the civilized world.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

It was now that our own people began to open their ears to this wailing cry from the neighboring island. Their sympathy was expressed in private and through public meetings called for the purpose, and eventually by the adoption of resolutions in Congress. But sympathy and resolutions could do nothing for the dying Cubans. There must be action. During the year 1896 there was a growing feeling on all sides that it was our solemn duty to send an army to the rescue of downtrodden Cuba, regardless of our friendly relations with Spain. President Cleveland hesitated. His responsibility was great. He was not oblivious to the demands of his countrymen nor to the cry of distress from the unhappy island; but his position led him to realize as no one else could that it is no light thing to disturb our peaceful relations with a great European nation — and he

still hesitated. When, in the spring of 1897, McKinley succeeded to the presidency, his attitude toward the great question was very similar to that of his predecessor, and so it continued for more than a year.

Meantime, the American people were further exasperated by the seizure and imprisonment by the Spanish authorities of American citizens in Cuba. These, however, were released on the demand of President McKinley. When it was known that there were many Americans among the starving *reconcentrados*, Congress voted $50,000 by which to send them provisions. This was promptly carried out, and many of the Cubans, as well as Americans, were thereby saved from starvation.

In January, 1898, it was decided to send a battleship to Cuban waters to protect American interests, and the *Maine*, commanded by Captain Sigsbee, was selected for the purpose. The *Maine* was a stanch and beautiful armored vessel of seven thousand tons burden, a battleship of the second class. On the night of the fifteenth of February, the crew was sleeping in fancied security, when suddenly there arose from the surface of the water a vast column of fire commingled with beams and rigging and the bodies of men, and accompanied by a sound surpassing the roar of artillery. The *Maine* had been blown to fragments, and 266 of her brave seamen had perished in the explosion. When, on the following morning, the news of the explosion reached our country, the people were stunned and shocked, and the first thought was that it had been caused by Spanish treachery. Captain Sigsbee, who was one of the few to escape without injury, counseled that the people suspend judgment until the cause of the calamity be thoroughly investigated. A board of naval officers was appointed to make an exhaustive examination of the wreck, and discover, if possible, what

had caused the explosion. For forty days they labored, and the American people waited in silence for the verdict. But the silence was ominous of a gathering storm, and when the board at length announced that the *Maine* had been destroyed by a submarine mine, there was an outburst of wrath from one end of the land to the other.

The treacherous destruction of the *Maine* hastened the coming of war, but did not cause it. No one could doubt that that deed had been wilfully committed, but absolute proof was wanting. If, therefore, the destruction of the *Maine* alone had been the subject in dispute with Spain, it is probable that a demand on our part for suitable reparation, if properly heeded, would have ended the matter, as in the case of the *Virginius*.

But the old question remained unsettled. The Spanish army, unable to conquer the rebellion, continued its ruthless policy of starving the peaceful inhabitants. The people of the United States could endure it no longer. The President, still hesitating, was at last forced by public opinion to take the final step. On April 11 he sent a message to Congress in which, after a careful review of the Cuban question, we find these words, "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests, . . . the war in Cuba must stop." The message also stated that diplomacy had been exhausted, and the matter was turned over to Congress. This could mean war and nothing else, for Congress has no diplomatic relations; its only weapon in dealing with foreign nations is the war power.[1] This message was followed on April 19 by a congressional resolution declaring that the people of Cuba are and of right ought to be free, demanding that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and gov-

[1] Lodge, *The War with Spain*, p. 36.

ernment in the island, and empowering and directing the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call forth the militia of the several states, if necessary, to carry the resolutions into effect. The resolutions also disclaimed all intention on the part of the United States to exercise sovereignty over the island, declaring that its government must be left to its people.

The following day the President issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of the Cuban ports and allowing all neutral vessels thirty days to issue therefrom, and on the twenty-fifth Congress made the formal declaration of war.

MANILA

In addition to Cuba and Porto Rico in the New World, Spain possessed in the Orient a vast and populous archipelago known as the Philippine Islands. This island empire had been discovered in 1521 by the dauntless Magellan in the most famous but one of all sea voyages. But the brave navigator did not live to tell his story; he was killed by the natives before leaving the islands. Magellan had named the island group in honor of St. Lazarus, on whose day the discovery was made; but years afterward they were called the Philippines, after King Philip II of Spain.

During the early months of 1898, when our relations with Spain became more and more strained and war seemed inevitable, the Navy Department issued orders to Commodore George Dewey to collect a fleet at Hong-Kong and hold it in readiness for instant action.

With great agility Dewey set about to obey orders. He purchased the English steamship *Nashan* with her thirty-three hundred tons of coal, and the *Zafiro*, filled with provisions and fuel. The *Baltimore*, with a great load of ammunition, the *Mohican*, and others, were sent to join the Asiatic

squadron. The bunkers of all were filled with coal; provisions and ammunition were secured in ample quantities. By the middle of April Dewey found himself in command of a respectable fleet of nine ships headed by his flagship the *Olympia*, and he waited quietly for further instructions. But he had not long to wait; on the twenty-sixth a cablegram reached him from Long, the Secretary of the Navy. It was short and unequivocal. "War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to Philippine Islands. . . . Capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavors."

So vigilant had Dewey been in making preparations that on the very next day the fleet began its long voyage of more than six hundred miles to the Philippines. For three days and nights the fleet ploughed through a boisterous sea, when we find it at the mouth of Manila Bay.

At the head of the bay and some twenty-five miles from the entrance is Manila, the capital of the archipelago. The city with its quarter of a million inhabitants lies low, not far above tide-water, is intersected by water passages, and has been called the Venice of the East. The bay of Manila is one of the most beautiful harbors in the world. Two small islands whose cliffs rise five hundred feet above the water stand like sentries at its mouth. On these and on the points jutting from the mainland were forts from which bristled great guns awaiting the coming foe. At nightfall on April 30 Dewey's fleet was steaming as silently as possible through the channel into the bay. Every light was extinguished, and the moon rising from the eastern waters gave the ships the appearance of specters as they crept into the harbor. All was silent except for the heart-throb of each vessel from its great engine beneath, and it was believed that they would pass the outer forts unperceived. But sud-

denly a shot from one of the shore batteries broke the stillness of the night, and this was followed by another and another. These were answered by several shots from the fleet which, however, was soon past all danger from these forts. All night long the fleet steamed silently up the bay toward Manila, when at the dawn of that tropical day, the first day of May, the commander discovered the object of his search — the Spanish fleet. There it lay, close under the guns of Cavite, a small suburban town some miles from the capital. Nothing could now prevent a naval battle.

The American fleet consisted of nine vessels. The best ship of the fleet was the flagship *Olympia*, a steel cruiser of the first class. Next to her came the *Baltimore*, the *Boston*, and the *Raleigh*, all second-class steel cruisers of about three thousand tons each. These all carried eight-inch guns and many rapid-fire guns of a smaller caliber.

The Spanish fleet consisted of ten ships, the largest of which was the *Reina Cristina*, a second-class steel cruiser, as were also the *Isla de Luzon* and the *Isla de Cuba*. None of the Spanish ships could be compared in size and strength with the *Olympia*. The two fleets were very well matched. The Spanish ships were more numerous, but older and not equal to the American in strength or speed. Both fleets were equipped with the best grade of modern guns, a slight advantage of numbers being with the Americans. Dewey had the advantage in heavy guns and in the weight of metal, but Admiral Montojo, the Spanish commander, had the advantage in men, 1796 as against 1678 Americans. The advantage, on the whole, lay decidedly with the Spaniards on account of their support from the powerful shore batteries in front of Cavite.

When Dewey came into the presence of the enemy he decided on immediate battle. When within 5000 yards

of the enemy, he opened fire. A terrific fire was poured forth at the same time from the Spanish fleet and forts. Again and again the American battleships swept round in a grand, graceful curve, each time nearer the enemy than before, each time pouring forth a deadlier fire. In the midst of the action the Spanish flagship, the *Reina Cristina*, made directly toward the *Olympia*. Dewey instantly concentrated the whole fire of his fleet upon her, and in a few minutes she was dreadfully torn and put out of action. A Spanish gunboat followed the example of the *Reina Cristina* with still more fatal results. After being terribly raked with American shells, she was struck in the center by a great projectile, broken to pieces, and sunk to the bottom with all on board.

After the battle had continued for two hours Dewey withdrew to a safe distance, but returned some hours later to complete the work.

The victory was one of the most brilliant and complete in the history of naval warfare. The Spaniards had lost every ship and six hundred and thirty-four men in killed and wounded; of the American fleet not a ship had been seriously damaged, not a man had been killed, and only eight wounded, mostly from flying splinters. The American gunners had proved themselves far superior to the Spanish.

The battle of Manila ended the three and a half centuries of Spanish misrule in the Philippine Islands; it directed the attention of the Orient as nothing had ever done before to the vast and growing Power beyond the Western Ocean; it brought to one man immortal fame. What a strange thing is fame! Many toil a lifetime for it and then it comes — to somebody else. Dewey was long past middle age. His ambition to win fame, if he ever had any, must have been

greatly dulled ere this. Before this remarkable sea-fight he was known only to his friends and in naval circles. The great public had never heard of him. In a day he became a world hero.

SANTIAGO

The battle of Manila was the first great action of the war, but before it had occurred operations had been commenced in Western waters. Immediately on the declaration of war Admiral Sampson, who had been waiting with his fleet at Key West, was ordered to proceed to the harbor of Havana and to begin the blockade that had been proclaimed by the President. On April 27 Sampson from his flagship the *New York*, supported by the *Puritan* and the *Cincinnati*, bombarded the fortifications at Matanzas. In a few hours the works were torn to pieces. The Spaniards had returned the fire, but every shot fell short of its mark. This was the first action of the war.

The Spanish fleet, commanded by Admiral Cervera, represented Spain's sea power, and was much more formidable than that which Dewey destroyed at Manila. The fleet had left Cape Verde Islands and was now somewhere in mid-ocean. Many were the speculations concerning Cervera's destination. One theory was that he would suddenly appear in North Atlantic waters and harry the New England coast; another was that he was steaming for Cuba or Porto Rico with the object of giving battle to the American fleet. At least it was fully believed that the Spanish admiral had a definite aim, and that his purpose was to strike an effective blow at some point.

Admiral Sampson with his ill-assorted fleet watched and waited for his antagonist; he steamed to San Juan, Porto Rico, and bombarded the city, seriously damaging the forts.

At last Cervera made his appearance in the Western Hemisphere. He led his fleet into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. It was afterward found that his fleet was not in good condition, his guns were not of the best modern type, and, above all, he had had no definite plan in crossing the Atlantic, but had drifted vaguely and aimlessly, scarcely knowing whither he was going. Here at least he found a safe retreat, for no hostile fleet could enter the harbor strewn with mines as it was.

At length the *Oregon*, one of our finest battleships, arrived and joined the fleet of Sampson. In two months she had sailed 14,000 miles, from the coast of California around Cape Horn.

Cervera was caught like a rat in a trap. When it was known positively that his fleet rested in Santiago Harbor, Commodore Schley was ordered to proceed with his flying squadron to the mouth of the harbor, and prevent the escape of the Spanish fleet. Schley soon had the Spanish admiral effectually bottled in the harbor and without a possibility of escape except by fighting his way out. Schley was soon joined by Sampson.

Santiago Harbor, seven or eight miles in depth, is so narrow at the mouth that scarcely a hundred yards of water lie between the bold promontories, one of which was crowned with Morro Castle, with its bristling cannon, while the entrance in the bay was strewn with dangerous mines. Admiral Sampson conceived the plan of sinking a vessel across this narrow channel to prevent the escape of the Spaniards until the American army could coöperate with him from the shore. The *Merrimac* was chosen for the purpose, and the project put into the hands of Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson, a young naval constructor of great energy and ambition.

On the evening of June 2, Sampson lined up several hundred men on the deck of the *New York*, told them of the intention to sink a vessel under the fire of the Spanish guns, and called for volunteers to go on the mission from which it was believed none would return. He then ordered all who were willing to go to make one step forward. Every man before him stepped forward.

From these Hobson chose seven men, and by three o'clock on the morning of the fourth, the little crew were steaming up the channel on their perilous journey. Suddenly a stream of light from Morro Castle flashed upon them and showed that they were discovered. Then broke forth the peals of artillery, and the shells fell thick and fast about the devoted crew. Hobson stood in the pilot-house in the midst of the storm and viewed the night battle in all its terrific grandeur. He now coolly lowered the anchors, blew up the bulkheads, and the vessel sank. The little crew clung to their small boats, escaping the Spanish fire in the darkness. At the coming of daylight they were picked up unhurt by the Spanish admiral, who was lavish in praise of their gallantry. After some weeks of imprisonment in Morro, they were exchanged and returned to their own lines. The deed attracted wide attention. It was certainly one of the most daring in history.

Let us now leave the navy for a moment and take a glance at the army. President McKinley had called for 125,000 volunteers in April and a month later for 75,000 more. While the response to these calls was most gratifying, our system of army organization was thoroughly bad, owing to the narrowness of Congress, the reign of the politician, and the endless coils of red tape to be encountered, and many were the delays and blunders before an army ready for the field could be formed of this crude material.

After some weeks of confusion an army was formed and an expedition against Santiago under the command of General Shafter was planned. At last, on June 14, after what seemed endless waiting in the broiling sun, an army of 15,000 men embarked at Tampa Harbor and was landed at Daiquiri, sixteen miles south of Santiago Harbor, and the difficult task of marching to Santiago by way of two mountain trails was begun. Generals Wheeler and Young led the regulars, while Colonels Wood and Roosevelt led a very irregular band of cavalry known as the "Rough Riders." These Rough Riders, five hundred and thirty-four strong, were a motley crowd. Most of them had come from the far West — hunters, pioneers, cowboys, and ranchmen, who were used to hardships; about forty were full-blooded Indians; while a hundred or more of this strange regiment were young men from the most highly cultured families of the East — graduates of Yale and Harvard, members of the most fashionable clubs of New York and Boston.

Two columns pressed forward over the mountain passes. Their first fight was at Las Guasimas, where they won a decisive victory, though the Spaniards outnumbered them two to one.

A few days later, the rest of the troops under Generals Lawton and Chaffee having come up, it was decided to make an attack on El Caney, a village northeast from Santiago, strongly fortified by a fort and blockhouses. The assault was made on July 1, soon after daybreak, with about six thousand men. Slowly and steadily for seven or eight hours the attacking party closed in around the fort. The Spaniards within, less than a thousand in number, had no possible means of escape, and they fought with the bravery of desperation. Late in the afternoon the walls of the fort began to crumble, and General Chaffee ordered

that the works be taken by storm. The walls were soon scaled and the fort captured. The American loss in killed and wounded reached almost five hundred. No other engagement of the war proved so destructive to the Americans as this action at El Caney.

The terrific fighting around Santiago on July 1 and 2 consisted of several separate engagements which as a whole have taken the name of the Battle of San Juan. Here again the American victory was very decisive.

Now, briefly, let us turn to another scene that followed hard on the Battle of San Juan, and that riveted the world's attention in a still greater degree. Admiral Cervera had lain with his fleet in Santiago harbor for five weeks. He was restive and anxious to escape, especially when he saw that the city of Santiago was about to fall into the hands of the enemy and as he believed the besieging force to be much greater than it was. Cervera therefore made a dash for liberty — a brave, desperate, and fatal dash. It was on the morning of July 3, when a thin column of smoke far up the bay was descried. The cry was soon raised that the Spanish fleet was escaping, and presently one after another of the vessels issued from the mouth of the harbor and turned westward, at the same time opening a terrific fire upon the American ships.

It happened that Admiral Sampson had an appointment to meet General Shafter that morning at Siboney, and at the moment when the firing began was four miles away with his flagship, the *New York*. Wheeling his vessel about, he hastened back with all speed, but his presence was not needed. The battle was well-nigh over when he reached the scene of action. Admiral (then Commodore) Schley, being second in rank, had general charge of the battle. But, more strictly speaking, it was a captain's fight, as each com-

mander, knowing just what to do, managed his own vessel as seemed best in his eyes.

The battle was short and decisive, a repetition of Manila. Few of the Spanish shots took effect, and after the first few broadsides the gunners were swept from the decks by the unerring aim of the Americans; and the Spaniards could do nothing now but hasten their speed in their desperate flight for life. But their efforts were vain. Scarcely an hour had passed when every Spanish vessel was destroyed and sunk.

Thus ended the sea-fight of Santiago. It reminds us forcibly of the battle of Manila. Several of the American vessels were repeatedly struck by Spanish shells, but none seriously injured. One man was killed and one wounded. The Spaniards lost everything. The killed and drowned numbered three hundred and fifty while one hundred and sixty were wounded and nearly eighteen hundred taken prisoners. The Americans prevented a further loss of life by leaping upon the burning decks of the sinking ships and saving as many as possible. The completeness of the American victory added to the proof already given that the Spaniards are a broken people and incapable of competing in battle with a stanch and virile race; yet the despairing courage they displayed was truly heroic and excites our admiration.

Two weeks after this battle the city of Santiago was surrendered by General Toral to General Shafter, and the city and surrounding district, and practically the entire island of Cuba, passed into the hands of the United States.

PORTO RICO

Porto Rico, the smallest of the four Greater Antilles, and about half the size of the State of New Jersey, lies a thousand miles southeast from the coast of Florida and half as

far from the eastern extremity of Cuba. It is a link of the great island chain that separates the Caribbean Sea from the Atlantic Ocean. The interior of the island is mountainous and heavily timbered, and the mountains are belted along the coast with lowlands of grassy meadows and blooming gardens. The soil is exceedingly fertile and the climate perpetual summer. The population, numbering almost a million, is a strange mixture of Spaniards touched with Indian blood, negroes, and a sprinkling of Europeans.

Of all the vast possessions of Spain in the New World at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Porto Rico alone, besides Cuba, remained to that country after the great political upheaval in Central and South America. Scarcely had our war with Spain opened when the Americans began to look wistfully to this beautiful island, this tempting morsel of the sea, and but a few months elapsed till an expedition was planned for the conquest of the island.

The campaign in Porto Rico was short, nor was there any great battle fought; yet measured by its results it was one of the most important of the war. The expedition was put into the hands of General Nelson A. Miles, who had distinguished himself in the Indian wars of the far West and who was known to be an able and daring commander. He embarked at Santiago with about thirty-five hundred men on July 20, and six days later made a landing at Ponce, a city of forty thousand population, the largest city of the island, situated on the southern coast. The surrender of the city was immediately demanded with the threat of bombardment in case of refusal. As the Spanish forces had fled and the property owners advised a surrender, but few hours elapsed until the American flag was waving over the port.

The next step was to move the troops along the great road from Ponce to San Juan, the capital of the island,

capturing the various towns along the way. But before reaching the capital city the news came that the peace protocol with Spain had been signed, and all hostilities had to cease from that moment. While these movements were in progress several other expeditions, planned by General Miles, were operating in other parts of the island, but these also came to a standstill through the news of peace.

Thus all the various movements in Porto Rico came to an end with shocking suddenness. Had they continued their operations for two or three weeks longer, there is little doubt that the entire island would have been overrun and taken possession of by the American soldiers. While there were no great battles fought in Porto Rico, the perfect plan of the campaign, the vigor and energy of the American troops, and their unbroken successes in an unknown region against superior forces, reflect great credit on General Miles and his little army.

THE COMING OF PEACE

The war had been in progress a trifle over three months; a large part of Cuba and of Porto Rico had been captured by the Americans, and they were still pressing onward and winning victory in every encounter; Spain's naval power had been swept from the seas, and now an American fleet under Commodore Watson was preparing to sail direct to Spain and open a bombardment on the coast towns — such was the condition at the beginning of August, 1898, and so hopeless was the outlook from the other side of the Atlantic that poor old Spain, with all her boasted chivalry and pride, was forced to sue the young Republic for peace.

The request for peace came from Spain's minister of state through M. Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, and reached the President on July 26. But few days elapsed

when Secretary of State Day made answer that the President was anxious for peace and would gladly open negotiations on the following conditions: that Spain relinquish forever her sovereignty over Cuba, that Porto Rico and an island in the Ladrones be added to the United States as a war indemnity, and that the control of the Philippines be determined later and embodied in a treaty of peace. The terms being accepted, a protocol stating the three conditions in exact terms was prepared and signed by the two governments on August 12. It was only a truce, but it proved to be the end of the war.

Arrangements were immediately made to frame a treaty of peace. The American commissioners appointed by the President were Secretary Day, who resigned his position in the cabinet, Senators Davis of Minnesota, Frye of Maine, Grey of Delaware, and Mr. Whitelaw Reid of New York. The Spanish Government appointed an equal number with the president of the Senate, Don Eugenio Montero Rios, at the head. These men met at Paris on October 1, and sat until December 10, when the treaty was completed.

We have not the space to dilate on the debates and wrangles of this commission. The one serious question that had to be disposed of was the ownership of the Philippine Islands. Dewey had taken the city of Manila just before the news of the peace protocol reached him, and the American flag now waved over the city. Public opinion was much divided as to what should be done with the islands. It was plain that Spain was utterly unable to govern them. It was equally certain that they were incapable of self-government. Should they then be left to themselves and become a prey to wrangling European powers? It was at length decided by the American commissioners that the only thing for the United States to do was to assume the responsibility

of the government of the islands and to retain them as an American possession. This demand was therefore made and laid down as necessary to the treaty of peace.

The Spaniards yielded with ill grace; but, as there was nothing else to do, they yielded, accepting twenty million dollars for the archipelago. The treaty was ratified by the United States Senate in February, 1899. The year that had passed since the destruction of the *Maine* had been a momentous one in the life of Spain and the United States. It had brought vast and, in their effects, incalculable changes to both.

The war was not a great one measured by many others, but in its results it must take a high rank. It marked an end of Spanish dominion in the Western Hemisphere. It did more: it marked the downfall of Spain as an empire, as a world power. Three hundred years ago Spain was the greatest nation of Europe or the world. Philip II ruled not only Spain but Portugal, the Netherlands, the Milanese, and the Sicilies. He was master of Cuba, Porto Rico, and almost all of Central and South America. His revenue was ten times that of Elizabeth of England, says Macaulay. But alas for Spain! With all her chivalry and her national pride she was wanting in the virtues so essential to national longevity. The government of her colonies was one of unceasing corruption and plunder, and her home government was scarcely better. The empire began to crumble. For three centuries the work had been going on; the empire had fallen to pieces little by little, and the war of 1898 completed the downfall.

But, after all, this war may prove a great blessing to Spain. Her people, now hemmed within the limits of their own peninsula, have no colonies to excite their cupidity or invite corruption, and, being no longer a first-class power,

they have little temptation to boast or to wage war. If now they will give their attention to the arts of civilization, to the education of the masses, to the weeding out of corruption from their government, they may yet become a great and happy people.

The change that was wrought in the United States by this war was also notable. During the century and a quarter of our national history we had remained in comparative isolation from the rest of the world. While other nations were reaching out and acquiring new possessions in various parts of the earth, we have been content to develop our resources at home; and in so doing we have grown into a vast power, of wealth and strength untold. This war with Spain was the occasion, not the cause, of our expanding into a world power. It was a movement of world forces, as uncontrollable as destiny, which no man can foresee or shape. It brought to us an expansion of power, of influence, of opportunity, of responsibility. This expansion has come, not that any man planned or foresaw it, but because it was time for it to come — because our light could be hid under a bushel no longer. But the increased responsibility that came to us was great. Similar responsibilities have come to others in the past — to Egypt, to Israel, to Persia, and to Rome of the ancient world — and to others in later times. But none of them proved worthy of the great trust; each one ran its course and fell into ruins. Nor is the cause far to seek. It was —

> Wealth, vice, corruption, and barbarism at last

that rendered their "history with all its volumes vast" capable of being crowded into one page.

Our future as a nation rests with ourselves. There is no natural limit to a nation's life. If we are swayed by "wealth,

vice, and corruption," nothing under heaven can prevent our downfall as a nation; but if we cultivate, above all things, national and individual integrity and virtue, there is no reason why this great country of which we are so proud should not endure, under its present form of government, "as long as the earth remaineth, and seed-time and harvest and summer and winter and day and night shall not cease."

CHAPTER XV

History of Political Parties

A complete history of the political parties that have existed and still exist in the United States would be a history of the entire working of our Government from the beginning. No such pretensions are made for this brief chapter. We can only notice the general tendencies of each party and the main points of difference between them, citing an occasional historical fact as an illustration. The many minor political organizations which did not get control of the Government must be omitted.

In a government such as ours it is almost inevitable that the citizens be divided into two or more political parties representing different viewpoints of governmental policy. And, moreover, no party, however pure its motives at first, will rule the country long without becoming corrupt, unless it has a rival of almost equal strength, scrutinizing its acts and motives, and ready to snatch from it the reins of Government.

In our more than a century of national life there have been four political parties that reached such magnitude and power as to get control of the Government, namely, the Federal, the Democratic, the Whig, and the Republican parties. Of these, two have run their course and passed into history, while the other two still exist and constitute the great political forces of the nation, measuring their strength from time to time with ever varying success. Of these four great organizations, three have stood in a great

measure for the same thing, no two existing at the same time, one following another as its natural heir and successor. The fourth, on the other hand, has been the natural and only formidable opponent of the other three has been contemporary with them all, and has existed more than twice as long as the next oldest. All of these parties have stood for some great and noble principles in human government, a fact that many zealous partisans overlook. It is true that it is our right, and not only our right, but our duty, to criticize and oppose corruption in politics. The American public should ever be awake to the doings of its lawmakers, and that there is much to find fault with none will deny; but it is nevertheless true that in criticizing the corruption in politics, we are apt to overlook the abiding principles of right which underlie our political life.

THE EARLIEST POLITICAL PARTIES

During the colonial period there were no political parties in America. There was some difference, it is true, in political opinion, a portion of the people adhering to the prerogative of the King without questioning, while others, with less reverence for their sovereign, were ever vigilant in guarding their own liberties. During the Revolutionary period there were no organized political parties, but the people were divided into two unorganized masses known as Whigs and Tories, the former comprising the fighting patriots, and the latter the royalists, who opposed the war. These names, both borrowed from English politics, were first used in America about 1770.

At the close of the war many of the royalists, also called loyalists, fled, some to England, others to Canada, while the majority remained in the country and became reconciled to the new form of government. The party names were

dropped, and for several years there was no special political distinction among the people.

When the Constitution was framed and put before the people for their approval, a large portion of them opposed its adoption. A majority, however, favored it, and eventually secured its ratification in all the states.[1] Those who favored the Federal Government as created by the new Constitution styled themselves Federalists; those opposing were called Anti-Federalists. But the Anti-Federalists were never an organized party, nor did they acknowledge the name, which had been put upon them by their enemies. After the adoption of the Constitution this party, if such it can be called, fell to pieces, while the Federal party took control of the Government.

THE FEDERAL PARTY

The political party that came into control of the Government in 1789 remained in power for twelve years. It differed from all its successors in being more centralizing and less in sympathy with the masses of the people than any other. Its leaders believed that the wealthy and cultured classes should rule the country, and they had little faith in the ability of the masses to govern themselves. The tendency of the party was to centralize the power into the hands of a few, and to make the National Government strong at the expense of the states.

But the people were jealous of their liberties; they had learned to love their respective states while still colonies; but the national government was a new thing, and there was a general fear that it would become tyrannical, as England had been in the past. It was not long after the first administration had begun when a large portion of the people

[1] See Vol. I, Ch. v.

began to show signs of discontent with the monarchial tendency of the Government, as they called it, and the result was that an opposing political party came into being. The leader of this movement was Thomas Jefferson, President Washington's Secretary of State. This new movement first assumed the dignity of a political party about 1793; it steadily increased in popular favor until the end of the century, when it gained control of the Government.

The great leader of the Federal party was Alexander Hamilton, and as he and Jefferson were both in the cabinet of Washington, their constant wrangles made it very unpleasant for their chief. Washington was supposed to be above party lines, but it was known that his sympathies were with Hamilton rather than with Jefferson. The Jefferson party, however, supported Washington for a second term, and his second election was unanimous, as the first had been. Washington's commanding presence held party spirit in check during the eight years of his presidency; but on his retirement the two opposing parties took the field for a royal battle for supremacy. The presidential contest in 1796 was a vigorous one, and John Adams won the prize over Jefferson by the narrow margin of three votes in the electoral college. Four years later Jefferson defeated Adams by a majority of eight. Thus fell the first great political party in the United States, and it fell to rise no more. After the great defeat of 1800, the Federal party grew weaker and weaker until about 1816, when it utterly disappeared from American politics.

The Federal party, with all its aristocratic tendencies, embodied much that is noble and of permanent value in human government. It did the country a great service, and was necessary at the time to save the new-born republic from anarchy. It had adopted the Constitution, had become the first pilot of the new Ship of State, and had

guided the ship successfully for twelve years. To President Washington we owe our attitude of non-interference in European affairs, and the courage required to take that stand was equal to that of the patriots at Bunker Hill. The financial basis of our Government to-day may be traced back until its roots are found in the brain of the great Federal leader, Alexander Hamilton. These are the abiding monuments of the Federal party.

But with all its excellences, the party was never popular. Only once after the rise of the Jefferson party did the Federalists command a majority in both Houses of Congress, and that was occasioned by the stimulus of impending war with France under John Adams. It then committed the unpardonable sin in passing the Alien and Sedition Laws, and the sovereign people sat in judgment and passed upon it the sentence of death. But it was not the unpopular laws that caused its overthrow; these were but the occasion. The true cause lay deeper. The vital defect in the party was its distrust of popular government — its want of confidence in the people. As Henry Adams says, "The party represented the ideals of a bygone age." But a new century had dawned, and brought with it new ideals with which the old party was unable to grapple, and its fall was inevitable.

But truth cannot die. The truth, therefore, embodied in old Federal doctrine did not die. Not only did the rival party that defeated the Federalists gradually adopt their best principles, but every political party in America, from that time to the present, has done the same thing. The old Federal party, therefore, still lives in its successors — just as a grain of wheat that falls into the ground and dies lives again in the new plant that comes forth — and it deserves and will deserve the grateful remembrance of American citizens to the latest generations.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Thomas Jefferson, in founding a new political party, gave it the name of Republican, or National Republican, and he continued to designate the party by these names as long as he lived. But his enemies often called his followers Democrats in derision, after a little party in France, held in disrepute at the time. The name Democratic steadily gained in favor until, in 1828, it was finally adopted as the regular party name. We shall employ the term Democratic to designate the party of Jefferson, though it was not officially so used during the lifetime of its founder.

The difference between the Federal and Democratic parties lay chiefly in the fact that the former was unfriendly to popular government and believed in a loose construction of the Constitution; while the latter advocated the largest possible share in the Government by the common people, and believed in a strict construction of the Constitution. By loose construction is meant the tendency to construe the Constitution, not always literally, but liberally, and thus give larger powers to Congress. The strict constructionists, on the other hand, would allow the National Government only such powers as are expressly granted by the Constitution, reserving all others to the states or to the people. But the Democratic party, after coming into full control, found it impossible to carry out literally its ideas of strict construction. When the opportunity to purchase Louisiana offered, Jefferson entered into the contract, though the Constitution gave no such warrant. The party was forced, owing to the strained relations with France and England, to adopt from time to time the very measures against which it had fought in old Federal days. This did not necessarily indicate a change of policy, but only a rising to an emergency,

an adjusting of its sails with the veering of the wind. The Federal party, lacking this ability to adjust itself to new conditions, had found itself out of tune with the times, and its downfall was the necessary result.

When the Federal party ceased to be a factor in national politics, the Democrats had their own way for a long period. At Jefferson's second election there were but fourteen electoral votes cast against him. The opposition to Madison was somewhat greater, and in 1816 there still remained a weak resistance to Monroe's election; but at the close of Monroe's first term all opposition had died out, and his second election was practically unanimous.[1]

In 1824 there were no opposing political organizations; but the Democratic party was divided into factions, each with its chosen leader. Four candidates for the presidency were early in the field — John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and William H. Crawford. All of these belonged to the Democratic party, and each had a following that claimed to represent the true democracy. Later in the campaign another star was added to the constellation in the person of Andrew Jackson; but Calhoun soon dropped out, and the number was again four.

When the electoral college met, Calhoun was elected Vice President, but there was no election of President, Jackson receiving the highest number of votes — ninety-nine — Adams coming next with eighty-four, while Crawford received forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. The election was thus thrown into the House, where Adams was elected on the first ballot. In 1828 Jackson and Adams were the candidates, the former using the name Democrat, while the Adams following retained the old Jeffersonian name, National Republican.

[1] See Vol. I, Ch. xiii.

Four years later, when Clay ran against Jackson, the same party names were used. But Clay, whose party policy was altogether unlike that of Jackson, and having a large following, both in Congress and among the masses, now determined to break away from the old party and to organize a new one. Hence the Whig party was born, the name being first used in 1834. For twenty years from this date the Democratic party had a great rival, strong enough at times to take from it the control of the Government.

When the Whig party disappeared in the early fifties, the Democrats again had a monopoly of national affairs. Their powerful hold on the country seemed to promise another long lease of power; but the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the series of disasters that followed in its train brought about a political revolution, and deprived the party of national control for a quarter of a century. The wonder is that it ever recovered. That the Democratic party survived its decade of experience beginning with 1854 is one of the marvels of the century. The slaveholders were dominant in the party's councils at the time when the spirit of the age pointed so plainly to a new order of things. This spirit they resisted to the last — until utterly defeated by force of arms. It is not true that the Democratic party as such waged war on the Union in defence of slavery; but it is true that the slaveholders had practical control of the party for some years before the war. But the war over and slavery overthrown, the party, with that wonderful capacity to adapt itself to new conditions, as shown sixty years before, accepted the results of the war, and was soon a formidable rival of the dominant Republican party.

The work of the Democratic party in making our great country what it is can scarcely be estimated. To it we are indebted for the acquisition of every state and territory

beyond the Mississippi River, and for Florida — more than half of our national domain. To it we owe the Independent Treasury, and the destruction of the United States Bank, which, had it remained to this day, would doubtless have eaten the very vitals of our political system.

Many are the blunders this party has made and numerous its errors; but to assert that the party does not rest on true and sound principles of government is to impute to a vast number of American citizens during a century of our history either unpardonable insincerity or gross stupidity.

THE WHIG PARTY

When Henry Clay and his friends were casting about for a party name, the old Revolutionary name "Whig" was suggested and adopted. The Whig party may be called the posthumous child of the old Federal party, and it stood for the same principles in a somewhat modified degree. During the entire twenty years of the life of the Whig party it had but one rival, and that was the Democratic party, and it differed from the latter in being more paternal and centralizing in its tendencies.

The Whig party differed from the other three in that it has not left us one great legislative act to enrich our national life, nor to embalm its name in American history. The party was patriotic, but unfortunate; it was rent by foes without and greater foes within. It twice elected a President, but each died in office before his term was half finished.

During the whole period of the existence of the Whig party it was beaten by the Democrats in all its great measures.[1] The first great contest between the Whigs and Democrats was that concerning the United States Bank. The Whigs favored granting it a new charter and perpetuating

[1] Schouler, Vol. IV, p. 261.

its existence indefinitely, while the Democrats opposed this on the ground that so great a monopoly, which had practical control of the finances of the entire nation, would surely become corrupt, would control the elections, and subvert the liberties of the people. The Democratic party appealed to the people on this ground, were successful, and the bank was destroyed.

The Whigs favored expending the surplus in the treasury from time to time in internal improvements, such as canals, turnpikes, and national roads. The Democrats claimed that such improvements could benefit only those who lived near them, that each state should make its own improvements, and that to tax the whole people for the benefit of the few was repugnant to the spirit of democracy. In this also the Whigs were defeated. So also with the Independent Treasury. The Whigs opposed it with all their power; but it became a law, and the people came to see that it was a good thing. The Whig party was therefore correspondingly weakened for having opposed it. Thus it will be seen the chief differences between these two parties were similar to those that had existed between the Federal and the Democratic parties forty years before.

The Whig party inflicted a suicidal blow upon itself in passing the Omnibus Bill of 1850. The party might have survived this, as the Democratic party afterward survived still heavier blows, but for the fact that it had been greatly weakened by the loss of all its important and distinctive measures since its organization. Every defeat now became an open wound, through which the life-blood of the party was ebbing. Two years later the party received its final blow in the crushing defeat of General Scott for the presidency, and for the second time in American history a great political party passed out of existence.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Even in quiet times it is not possible for a country governed by the people to be long without opposing political parties. Much less possible would this be in such troublous times as those just preceding the Civil War. The monopoly in national affairs enjoyed by the Democratic party could not long continue, especially after it had offended a large portion of the people with the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Scarcely had the pending bill become known to the public when the unrest of the people began to manifest itself, and rumors were soon afloat of the formation of a new national party. There was much unorganized material with which to form a party.

The Democratic party had, at the death of the Federal party, absorbed almost the whole people, but this was not true at the dissolution of the Whig party. The old-line Whigs for the most part refused to affiliate with the Democrats. The same was true of the American or Know-Nothing party, which was now on the verge of dissolution. To these must be added the many thousands of anti-Nebraska Democrats. These three elements found themselves on common ground in opposing the future encroachment of the slave-power on free soil; and they were not long in forming a coalition to found a great political party.

There is a little town in Wisconsin, Ripon, in Fond du Lac County, which claims to be the birthplace of the new party. At a meeting of the citizens held on March 20, 1854, a series of resolutions were passed declaring that a new national political party should be organized and that its name should be "Republican." A full report of the meeting, written by the chairman, was published by Mr. Greeley in the *New York Tribune*. This little meeting is perhaps the

remotest rivulet from which the great stream of Republicanism took its rise. A similar movement followed a few days later in Vermont. A great meeting was held in Michigan early in July, and the resolutions here adopted were similar to those adopted in the Wisconsin town. Ohio followed a week later in a similar demonstration; and the following year Chase carried that state for governor on an anti-Nebraska ticket by a majority of seventy-five thousand. Before the close of 1855 nearly all the northern states had shown, through their elections, their profound disapproval of the policy of the Democratic party.

It was left for Pittsburgh to become the official birthplace of the Republican party. On Washington's birthday, 1856, a meeting was held in that city to lay the foundations of a new national party. Every non-slave state was represented except California. The name adopted for the new party was "Republican." The distinctive principle on which it was founded was: No further advance of slavery on free soil. This Pittsburgh meeting called a national convention to be held in Philadelphia the following June for the purpose of naming candidates for the coming presidential election.

The convention was held in Philadelphia as appointed, and John C. Frémont and William L. Dayton were nominated for the presidency and vice presidency. The Republican candidates were defeated at the polls, but they carried all the northern states except four, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. This was a wonderful showing for the new party, and four years later it swept the entire North and gained control of the Government through one of the greatest political revolutions in our history.

The Republican party was not at first an abolition party. It became such only after the issue was forced upon it through the exigencies of war. Aside from the issues brought

on by the war and its causes, there was no great difference between the Republican and Democratic parties. The reduction of the tariff in 1857 was the joint action of both parties, and the tariff did not become a prominent issue between them until more than twenty years later.

As was the case with the Whig party, the Republican party is somewhat more centralizing and paternal in its tendencies than the Democratic party, but these features were scarcely noticeable before the war. If the Whig party was the child, the Republican party may be called the grandchild, of the old Federal party. The difference, however, between the original Democrats and the Federalists was much greater than between the present Democrats and Republicans. Experience has taught the Democrats to lay more stress on nationality, and the opposition to become more democratic. The movement of each has been toward the other, resulting in a narrowing of the gap between them.

Both Federalists and Democrats at first were idealists and extremists. One of them committed suicide by refusing to discern the signs of the times and to modify its policy as necessity demanded; the other, more wise and more practical, modified its ideals as the changing conditions required, and it has thus preserved its organization down through the century to the present time. The Whig party showed the same want of foresight and adaptability that had characterized its predecessor, and the result was the same. But the Republican party proved itself capable of grappling with all sorts of public questions, and its outlook for permanent existence is not less promising than that of its great rival.

The Republican party, after twenty-four years of unbroken success in retaining the presidency, lost to Cleveland in 1884. The tariff had become the chief issue and so continued for nearly two decades when it was temporarily replaced, in 1896, by the silver question.

CHAPTER XVI

The Panama Canal and the Caribbean Sea

Uncle Sam is not a business man — if we may personify our Government for a moment. He needs a great deal of money, it is true, but he makes no pretense of earning it through business channels. He gets it by taxation. In some countries the Government owns the railroads and other paying enterprises; but our Government does not seek to earn money from any source.

The Government owns the postal system with all its immense business; but it does not pay and Congress must make up a deficit of many millions every year. Far greater is the cost of the army and navy, which bring in no income. Public parks and highways and prisons, owned by the Government, are not sources of revenue. The one great Government enterprise that remains to be mentioned is the Panama Canal.

The construction of this great waterway was not undertaken as a business enterprise. As an investment it can hardly be said that it is a paying institution. The twenty odd millions of dollars taken in tolls each year, from which the upkeep must be subtracted, do not foot up an adequate income from the nearly $400,000,000 that the canal cost.

In another sense it may be said that the canal pays its entire cost several times over in every decade. Suppose the canal, by lowering transportation rates, is worth on an average say two dollars each a year to all the people of the United States, it will be seen that it will pay the entire expense of construction in less than two years.

PRELIMINARIES

A ship canal across the narrow isthmus connecting North and South America was a dream of Spanish explorers four hundred years ago. As early as 1521 surveys were made and a few years later the King of Spain appointed a commission to investigate and report on the feasibility of such a canal. The report was that no king, however great his resources, could hope to complete so vast an undertaking, and the project was abandoned. Three and a half centuries passed. Spain ceased to be a factor in the New World. The dream of the early Spaniards was revived.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 between the United States and England provided that any canal between the two oceans should be the joint project of the two countries. But the slavery agitation in our country, followed by the Civil War, prevented further action for many years. Meanwhile the American people came to believe, owing to changed conditions, especially through the development of our Pacific Coast, that the canal ought to be wholly under American control. Great Britain was loath to give up her rights as defined in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, but after twenty years' negotiation she agreed to do so. A treaty, known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, arranged by Secretary of State John Hay and Lord Pauncefote, the British minister, was made in 1901. It canceled the Treaty of 1850 and provided that the canal should be free to the use of all nations, that it should never be blockaded, and that no act of war should be committed within it.

Meantime a French company, organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, had been struggling to construct a canal at Panama. After spending a vast sum of money, the French company, finding the project too

much for them, sold out to the United States for forty million dollars, to be paid when a canal treaty between the United States and Colombia should be ratified by both countries.

In order to begin the great work nothing now remained but to secure a favorable treaty with Colombia. Such a treaty was arranged by Secretary Hay and Dr. Herran, the Colombian commissioner. But it was rejected by the Colombian senate. Then came the revolt in Panama. For many years Panama, the northernmost state of Colombia, had been restless under Colombian rule, and now in the fear that the great project would fall to the ground, in the fear that the United States would be driven from the field and would construct its canal at Nicaragua, the people rose against their government, declared their independence, and set up the Republic of Panama (November, 1903).

The United States quickly recognized the new republic and proceeded to make a canal treaty with it. The treaty, known as the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, was signed in November, 1903, was ratified by Panama in December, and by the United States Senate the following February. It provided that a bonus of $10,000,000 be paid to Panama, while the French company was to receive its forty million. It guarantees the independence of Panama. It grants to the United States a belt across that isthmus ten miles wide, with sovereign powers, under the form of a perpetual lease. Beginning with 1913 Panama receives from the United States an annual payment of $250,000.

THE SANITARY VICTORY

One reason why the French gave up this great work at Panama was the deadly climate. Panama had long been known as one of the hottest, wettest, and most feverish

region of the world. The yellow fever was the one disease dreaded above all others, and great numbers of the French fell victims to this fatal malady.

When gold was discovered in California many men of the East who started for the land of gold braved the deadly perils of Panama, and the death toll was heavy. Again, when the Panama railroad was built in the early fifties, the laborers were swept into the grave by thousands. It was plain that men who were not acclimatized were taking their lives in their own hands when they went to Panama.

When in 1904 the Americans began to arrive on the isthmus the ravages of this dreaded disease greatly increased. There was a panic, and hundreds of men hastened to return home at the first opportunity. It was believed that the work would have to be given up. But since then there has been a transformation, and it is chiefly due to one man — Colonel William Crawford Gorgas, a surgeon in the army.

There is no such thing as a sickly or unwholesome climate anywhere, however hot and wet it may be. Disease germs come from the ground and not from the air. Purify the surface and you have a wholesome climate whatever the latitude. On this principle Dr. Gorgas proceeded when appointed by the President as chief sanitary officer of the canal zone across the isthmus.

He had learned by experiment in Cuba that yellow fever is entirely due to the bite of a certain kind of mosquito called the *Stegomyia*. To exterminate this pest on the canal belt was a tremendous task, but nothing else could stop the dread disease, and the doctor, with 2,000 assistants, set about it with tireless vigor.

The natives of the towns and villages were utterly careless in their way of living. They supplied themselves with water from open rain barrels, in which the mosquitoes were hatched

by millions. The streets were filled with decaying vegetables and every imaginable kind of nondescript rubbish. The land was covered with dense tropical jungles, with dismal swamps and sluggish streams, all of which were hatching places for the mosquitoes.

In less than a year the streets were cleaned, the people were forced to adopt sanitary methods of living, the swamps were drained, and the jungles in a large measure were removed. The result was marvelous. In the entire year of 1906 there was but one case of yellow fever in the whole canal belt, and during the following years there was none.

Another mosquito, the *Anopheles*, is responsible for malaria, and so diligent was Dr. Gorgas in his efforts to exterminate this one also, that malaria has greatly decreased among the people. On the whole the conquest in Panama by the Sanitary Commission is one of the greatest in history, and the whole world will profit by it. The general health on the isthmus to-day is quite as good as in other parts of the world.

MAGNITUDE OF THE WORK

The greatest engineering project ever undertaken by man is the Panama Canal. It is nearly fifty miles long and is cut through the continental divide at one of the lowest parts of that vast mountain system which extends from the Straits of Magellan to the Bering Sea. The highest point is Culebra Hill, rising 330 feet above sea level. The cut through Culebra is 285 feet deep and nine miles long.

The two great features of the canal are the Culebra Cut (since called Gaillard Cut, from the name of one of the engineers), and the Gatun Dam with its mammoth locks.

The Gatun Dam is about a mile and a half in length, half a mile thick at the bottom and about 400 feet at the top.

It extends from one hill to another and dams up the Chagres River, forming a lake of more than a hundred square miles. Through this lake the canal runs for 24 miles, to the Gaillard Cut. The surface of the canal is 85 feet above sea level and vessels are raised to that height and lowered at the other end by means of immense locks in three tiers, each hoisting or lowering a ship about 28 feet. The canal depends for its water on the Chagres River, without which it would be a dry ditch.

Cutting through Culebra Hill was a vast undertaking. For nearly ten years 50,000 husky laborers were employed. More than half of them were West Indian negroes, and there were thousands of Spaniards and Italians. About 5,000 Americans were employed as engineers, clerks, foremen, and sanitary helpers — very few as common laborers.

The machinery was the greatest ever employed in such a project. Mammoth steam shovels, of 95 tons each, ate into the mountain side and lifted the earth into 800 trains of 23 cars each; by these it was carried away on 300 miles of temporary railroad. Scores of electric drills boring into the rock and earth kept up their tat-a-tat during the day; at night, after the weary laborers had retired to the upper levels, the electric spark was touched to the great charge of dynamite and with a deafening roar thousands of tons of earth were loosened and made ready for the coming day. The work was greatly retarded toward the last by slides from the mountainside, the aggregate amounting to more than twenty million tons of earth.

The great waterway was finished and opened for business in August, 1914, more than a year earlier than had been expected. It quickly became popular with the shipping interests of the world. Within a few years 5,000 vessels a year were passing through it. It reduces the distance from

From Elson-MacMullan, "The Story of Our Country." Copyright 1925 by World Book Company, Publishers. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York.

A RELIEF MAP OF THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE SHOWING THE GAILLARD CUT, FORMERLY THE CULEBRA CUT

New York to the Pacific Coast by more than 8,000 miles and from Liverpool by more than 6,000 miles.

The one man to whom the greatest credit is due for the great canal, next to President Roosevelt, was Colonel George W. Goethals, chief engineer and manager of the whole construction; and next to him was Dr. William C. Gorgas, who made the canal zone inhabitable.

In 1912 Congress, in a glow of patriotic but blind enthusiasm, passed a law to exempt from canal tolls American vessels engaged in coastwise trade. To this Great Britain made strenuous objections as a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, which provided that all nations be treated alike in their use of the canal. In 1914 Woodrow Wilson, who had become President, set about to have the law repealed. In a special message to Congress he declared that the law was a plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain, and that "the large thing to do" was to set ourselves right before the world by repealing the act. There was great opposition in Congress, but at length the law was repealed. The President had won a notable victory. But more than that, he had rescued the American ideal of international fairness at which the law of 1912 had so seriously struck.

The Panama Canal, however, is limited in its capacity, owing to the time required for a vessel to pass through the locks. It is easy to foresee the time, not many years in the future, when the great canal will not be able to accommodate all the ships that seek passage between the two oceans. To meet this situation it is proposed that another canal be constructed, through Nicaragua. Accordingly in 1916 a treaty between the United States and Nicaragua, known as the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, was made by the two countries. By this treaty Nicaragua, for the payment of three million

dollars, granted to the United States exclusive right to build a canal between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

THE CARIBBEAN SEA

It is most natural that the Panama Canal and the proposed canal at Nicaragua would greatly increase our interest in the lands bordering the Caribbean Sea. This great sea of a million square miles, "The American Mediterranean," is enclosed on the north by Cuba, Haiti, and Porto Rico, and on the south and west by Venezuela, Colombia, and the States of Central America. The inhabitants of these countries are Latin-Americans, with a strong mixture of negroes and Indians. None of them has ever had for long a stable government. Often it has happened that a defeated candidate at an election would raise a rebellion and try to win by the bullet what he failed to win by the ballot. And often when one faction succeeded another in the government, it would refuse to honor the other's debts and thus give a pretext to the European creditors to send warships to enforce payment.

Such conditions, endangering the great canal and its usefulness, could not be tolerated by the United States. It was necessary to protect the great waterway and the sea lanes leading to it. First it was decided to fortify the canal and this was speedily done. But this was not enough. The turbulent countries bordering the great sea must be made to keep the peace and their finances must be kept in such condition as to prevent the coming of any European debt collectors.

The one way to safeguard the canal, in addition to fortifying it, was to acquire some sort of protectorate over various governments around the Caribbean. During the

first quarter of the twentieth century our authority in the Caribbean has increased with the slow, steady, irresistible movement of a glacier. Both our great political parties have followed the same policy, but the general public has been scarcely aware of the movement.

At the close of the Spanish War we gained full control of Porto Rico and a protectorate over Cuba. We control outright the Panama Canal Zone, and have a protectorate over the Republic of Panama, similar to that over Cuba, though neither Cuba nor Panama is denied autonomous self-government. In 1904 the Dominican Republic (the eastern part of the island of Haiti) was in great trouble. She could not pay her debts and European warships were about to come and enforce payment. President Roosevelt took the ground that we had no right to object to this procedure unless we were willing to guarantee the payment of the debts. The next year we took control of the Dominican ports and continued to hold them for nearly twenty years. Part of the revenues were handed over to the creditors and the remainder to the Dominican government.

The year 1916 marked a great advance in our authority in the Caribbean. That year we purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark for $25,000,000, and also made very important treaties with Haiti and Nicaragua. For some years the government of Haiti was in a state of chaos and in July, 1915, the president of the republic, himself a man of blood, was killed in an uprising at Port-au-Prince, the capital. Thereupon the United States sent a body of troops to take possession of the country. A treaty, which was almost forced on the turbulent republic, was signed in 1916. By this treaty Haiti became a protectorate of the United States; but the people elect their own president, senate, and assembly. Since then the government has

become far more stable and the people more prosperous than for many years.

In Nicaragua the disorder has been almost as great as in Haiti. After the signing of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty in 1916 the American troops remained and for some years there was comparative quiet throughout the country. But in 1925 civil war was imminent on account of election disputes. President Coolidge thereupon sent marines to quell the disorder and to protect the lives and property of American citizens. The result will, no doubt, be a permanent protectorate over Nicaragua by the United States.

It will be seen that our authority has grown amazingly around the Caribbean in the last quarter century and the process is likely to continue. While our chief object was to safeguard the canal, it is not the only one. We have brought better government and greater prosperity in every country where our authority has been increased. There is also a touch of self-interest in our aggressive movements to the southward. We need closer trade relations with the Caribbean lands. We need their hard woods, their sugar, their tropical fruits. And during recent years our trade with them has greatly increased, to their advantage as well as ours.

CHAPTER XVII

America and the Great War

The war in Europe from the beginning of August, 1914, to November 11, 1918, was by far the greatest and most destructive in the history of the human race. Over a wide area vast armies swayed to and fro and rolled upon each other like tidal waves. The war was fought on the land and on the sea, under the sea and in the air among the clouds. It raged with demon fury for four and a third years. It embraced more than three-fourths of all the nations of the world.

The causes of the war reach back for many years; however, its immediate cause was the assassination of Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, by a young Serb in the town of Serajevo. Austria held Serbia responsible and sent that country an ultimatum that her honor forbade her to accept. Then came declarations of war by Austria and Germany on the one side and by Russia, France, and England on the other. Within a few weeks Europe was a seething mass of military activity. It would seem that the nations had gone mad and were straining every nerve to annihilate one another. To these warring nations others were added from time to time until nearly the whole world was in arms.

ATTEMPTS AT NEUTRALITY

What would America do? We had intimate relations with all the nations at war and all were eager to retain our good will. They sent delegations to Washington, each side declar-

ing that it was fighting in self-defence and that the other side was guilty of starting the war.

President Wilson promptly proclaimed neutrality; later he requested even that the people be impartial in thought, as well as in action. With great numbers of our people it was impossible to comply with this request; especially was this true of the millions of immigrants in this country. Racial sympathies were quickly roused, and even of the old American stock, it is doubtful if many were of impartial mind. The government, however, determined to preserve a neutral attitude inasfar as such a course was possible.

The first tilt that threatened our neutral position was with Great Britain. Before the end of the first year of the war an English blockade of German ports was proclaimed. Meantime our overseas trade had enormously increased, especially with Holland and the Scandinavian countries. The British rightly suspected that much of the goods carried to these countries was finding its way into Germany. The English thereupon began the practice of stopping our vessels at sea, examining the cargoes, and seizing those goods (to be paid for later) that might be helpful to her enemies.

Against this practice the United States made a most vigorous protest, declaring it "ineffective, illegal, and indefensible." The British answered that they were only doing that which was necessary to a legal blockade and continued the practice, in spite of our continued protests. These affairs might have led to more serious conditions but for the fact that our relations with Germany had meantime become still more serious and threatening.

Germany banked much on her submarines. Her merchant ships had been driven from the sea by the British navy; but these undersea craft could creep unseen upon the mer-

chant ship and send the deadly torpedo crashing through its hull. In answer to the British blockade of her ports Germany proclaimed the waters around the British Isles a "war zone," declared that any vessels within that zone were subject to attack, and warned neutral vessels to keep out. This was a serious menace indeed. The British menace involved property only; but the German involved human life as well. It was in short a notice to the United States, "Stop your trade with Great Britain, else your ships and the lives of your people will be forfeit."

Of course the United States had no intention of complying with this demand. President Wilson notified the German Government that it would be held to a "strict accountability" in case of attacks on American vessels or the loss of American lives. It was not long before the stunning news came that a German submarine had sunk the great British liner *Lusitania* off the Irish coast on May 7, 1915. The loss of life exceeded eleven hundred and one hundred fourteen of those lost were Americans. The spirit of the people flared up in anger and our public would no doubt have been ready for immediate war with Germany; but the President took hold of the matter with a steady hand. Through a long diplomatic correspondence he exacted from Germany a conditional promise that liners would not in future be sunk without warning. But when this promise was violated in the sinking of the *Sussex*, in March, 1916, with the loss of several American lives, the President threatened to break off all relations with Germany unless the submarine depredations immediately ceased. Germany complied and during the following months we had no further trouble from the submarines.

Meantime from another direction our peace with the Central Powers was seriously threatened. It is the custom for

a nation at war to buy munitions from neutrals when possible. Great Britain began early in the war to purchase large quantities of supplies from the United States; but Germany could not do so because prevented by the British navy. Germany and Austria thereupon called upon us to stop the traffic as unfair because only one side could take advantage of it. Our government answered that we could not comply with the request, that it had been the rule of the nations for a neutral to sell munitions to a belligerent in time of war, and that it would be an unneutral act for us, single handed, to change the rule in the midst of a war.

Then the Central Powers tried another tack. They employed secret agents to stir up trouble in our munition factories, to inspire strikes, and to place concealed bombs in the cargoes of ships carrying goods to the Allies. These doings were traced to Washington. It was found that the German and Austrian embassies had inspired the proceedings and President Wilson demanded the recall of the Austrian ambassador, Dr. Constantin Dumba, and of the German naval and military attachés.

It was left, however, to the submarines to break down our neutrality at last. Regardless of her promise, Germany launched a new and ruthless submarine campaign in the waters around Great Britain and the French coast, and in the Mediterranean. All vessels in these waters, neutral and belligerent alike, were to be destroyed. The purpose was to shut off the food supply of England and starve her into submission.

President Wilson and the American people were amazed to hear of this decision. It was to take effect on February 1, 1917. Germany evidently expected that the United States would enter the war, for about this time she made overtures to Mexico, offering that country financial aid if

she would enter the war against us. Mexico was promised a great reward. She was to reconquer and re-annex the "lost territory of New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona."

Wilson, exasperated after more than two years of effort, saw that all our efforts to remain neutral had come to nothing. War with the Central Powers was inevitable. He quickly broke off relations with the German Government and recalled Ambassador Gerard from Berlin. He proceeded to equip merchant vessels with guns and gun crews, and called Congress to meet in special session on April 2. On that day he delivered to a joint session of the two Houses his memorable war message. He declared that we had no selfish aims to serve in entering the war, no conquest, no dominion. "We are glad," he said, "to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy." Four days later both Houses had passed a declaration of war on Germany.

GREAT PREPARATIONS

Never before in history had any nation prepared for war on so grand a scale. The country was exceedingly rich in everything needed to carry on a great war; but nothing was ready, nothing was organized. The five great wants were munitions, food, ships, money, men.

In the matter of munitions we had already reached a state of rapid production, owing to our supplying the Allies during the preceding two years. But now our factories were speeded up, new ones were built, and great factories including huge automobile works, were turned over entirely to the production of war materials.

The food administration was placed in the hands of Mr. Herbert Hoover, who had made a notable record in the same

capacity in Belgium. He urged farmers and gardeners to increase their planting and they did so. Women and children all over the country busied themselves in aiding to raise garden vegetables and in knitting and sewing for supplying the armies.

In shipbuilding we broke all records. To the Shipping Board was added an Emergency Fleet Corporation. Great contracts were given out. All our shipyards were kept busy day and night and many new ones established. In one shipyard near Philadelphia 35,000 workers were employed and one hundred eighty ships were under construction at one time.

The war required a vast amount of money. It was partly raised by taxation, but chiefly through Liberty Loans and later a Victory Loan, in which great numbers of the people, including school children, became creditors to their government. In all the government raised about thirty-five billion dollars, nearly one-third of it by taxation. A great deal of this money was loaned to our Allies in Europe.

The prime requisite in war is men. It was necessary to raise great armies to send to the battle front. It also required hundreds of thousands of laborers, engineers, craftsmen, and experts in many lines. The registration of all the young men in the whole country, between the ages of 21 and 31, was made June 5, 1917, and the total reached 9,586,508. Among these the most fit were called to the military camps for training. It required months of hard training to make real soldiers out of young men from other walks of life.

To make sure of rapid transportation of men and supplies the government took control of all our vast systems of railroads, and William G. McAdoo, Mr. Wilson's secretary of the treasury, was made director general. In long troop trains the soldier boys were carried eastward to the sea-

coast, there to embark upon the Atlantic for the war zone of Europe.

It was a great adventure. Many of the young men had never been far from home. Few of them had ever seen Europe, and almost none of them had ever been in war. Sometimes several thousands of them embarked in a single ship. But our vessels proved too few and many English ships were added to the list. To avoid being sunk by the lurking submarines, the ships were grouped in small fleets and were guarded by swift patrol destroyers. Never before was there such a movement across the Atlantic or any other body of water. By midsummer, 1918, our soldiers were landing in France at the rate of 300,000 a month. When the war ended in November we had two million men in France. About half that number were actually engaged in battle. The remainder were drilling and getting ready for action when the armistice put an end to hostilities.

IN THE WAR ZONE

The Germans had banked heavily on their submarines. They had expected to starve the English by cutting off their food supply and to prevent the Americans from crossing the ocean. They failed in both. When our men arrived the Allies were being hard pressed; they were fighting "with their backs to the wall," as they put it. Our first arrivals in the streets of London and of Paris awakened wild and unrestrained enthusiasm from the people. For the first time in history the American flag was unfurled on the House of Parliament in London.

General John J. Pershing, who had made a record on the Mexican border, was made commander of the American forces, and Admiral William S. Sims was commander of the American fleet. Both army and navy made records of

which the American people need never feel ashamed. Very briefly can we touch upon the war activities of our soldiers in France and Belgium.

Before we had entered the war, it had reached tremendous proportions. The Germans had overrun Belgium, but had been repulsed at the Marne; the Russians had won great victories in the Carpathians, but had lost 80,000 men at Tannenberg; the English had made a dismal failure at the Dardanelles, but had won many victories on the western front; the French had been pressed back at many points, but in a mighty three months' battle had saved from capture the great fortress of Verdun.

The chances of final victory seemed to favor the Central Powers until the American soldiers began to recruit and strengthen the Allied armies. After the withdrawal of Russia in 1917, the Germans concentrated vast armies on the western front with a view of making a drive on Paris greater than any theretofore attempted. And it is easily possible that they would have succeeded but for the fact that the Americans were ready to help the hard-pressed Allied armies.[1] General Ferdinand Foch of France was made chief commander of all the Allied armies in the world.

On March 21, 1918, the great German drive was begun. The battle that followed was no doubt the greatest in the history of the world. The Germans pressed back their enemy for many miles and took many thousands of prisoners. Far above the battle on land, with its deep, tremendous roar of artillery, there hovered, like gigantic birds, hundreds of airplanes, pouring into one another volley after volley from their machine guns.

[1] To claim that "America won the war" is to claim entirely too much. It is true, however, that the coming of the Americans was very important to the Allies and perhaps necessary to their success.

At first the Americans were brigaded, mixed among the French and English soldiers. But in August a separate American army was organized, under General Pershing. Even before this, on June 4, two American divisions made a successful dash at Château Thierry, and a few days later American forces swept Belleau Wood clear of the enemy in a fierce, two-day conflict. At St. Mihiel in September the American troops won a notable victory and captured 16,000 men.

The great German drive on the western front continued for several months; but on July 18 it came to a stop. General Foch had slowly fallen back while gathering his forces for an irresistible counter attack. For many weeks thereafter the two great armies swayed to and fro, the Germans retreating steadily then until they had lost all the ground they had gained in the spring. Nor did they stop there. Slowly they were pressed toward the French frontier — and they saw that the war was lost. They asked for an armistice. Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria had already given up the contest.

Meantime the American soldiers had engaged in the greatest battle ever fought by an American army — the battle of the Meuse-Argonne. From the Meuse River to the Argonne Forest, a space of about twenty miles, the Germans held on, though they had been driven from the valleys of the Marne and the Aisne rivers. It was the key to a railroad greatly needed by them for the bringing of supplies and also as a line of retreat in case of defeat and disaster. The country was greatly broken with wooded hills, ravines, and swamps, and there were many hidden nests of machine guns.

An American army of about a million men was sent to capture this territory. The battle was one of the greatest of the war. It began on September 26 and raged for forty-

seven days, with great loss to both sides. The American army, with a contingent of French soldiers, steadily and irresistibly pushed back the enemy and on November 7 they reached the historic city of Sedan, the center of the railroad system. They had reached their goal and won a notable victory. Then came the armistice, on November 11, 1918.

The armistice ended hostilities on all fronts. The great guns ceased to roar and silence reigned throughout the vast battlefields. But many years will be required for the bleeding nations to heal the wounds inflicted by the Great War.

RESULTS OF THE WAR

"A great war always deflects the course of civilization; it severs many threads in the skein of life; it changes the face of the world. Aside from the demoralization of society, the most serious charge against the heinous business of war is that it devours geniuses, men who would have become leaders in all lines of human activity. It cuts down young men before they have had a chance; it robs them of opportunity and thus robs the world. Of the sixteen million people who died in the war, how many would have become famous in human leadership? No one can tell. It can never be known what the world lost. But barring this one unknown quantity, war may bring good as well as harm. Certainly good came of our American Revolution and of the Civil War. This is not always so, however. Many a war has greatly retarded human progress, as in the case of the Tartar invasion of Russia and the Turkish invasion of Europe. What may be the final results of the World War time alone can disclose. Generations must pass before all the results can be known." [1]

History will record the year 1918 as one of the most

[1] This paragraph is taken from Elson, *History of the United States*, page 951.

memorable in the annals of the human race. The fall of the Roman empire, usually reckoned as 476 A.D., is considered a landmark in European history. The fall of three great empires, Germany, Austria and Turkey, marks the year 1918. The birth of a new nation is a great event in history. In 1918 several new nations were born in central and northern Europe. And if we enlarge our year a few months at each end, we have the toppling and crumbling of the Russian empire, the overthrow of four great royal dynasties — the Romanoff, the Hohenzollern, the Hapsburg, and the Turkish — and the organization of the League of Nations. For world events of supreme importance no other equal period in history can at all compare with this.

The evil results of the Great War are not far to seek — the sacrifice of millions of human lives and the maiming and disabling of countless numbers of men; the vast destruction of wealth, the demoralization of whole nations, the wiping out of entire communities, and the crushing burden of debt that can be met only by the toil of millions for many years. But with all the evil results of the war, the frightful misery and death, the boundless destruction of treasure, we must not overlook the fact that the results of the war were not all bad.

Among the conspicuous changes brought by the great conflict, a change for the better it is hoped, is the liberating and democratizing of more than a hundred million people, not counting the Russians. First in point of numbers are the Germans. Since the forming of the empire in 1871 Germany was led by a military caste and the people had only a nominal voice in their own government. To-day the German people, under a republican government of their own making, having lost their military spirit, have a most wholesome outlook toward a happy and prosperous future.

The rebirth of Poland with its thirty million inhabitants, is one of the outstanding results of the war: Poland had been torn to pieces and swallowed up by her greedy neighbors in the eighteenth century. Hungary, which had been absorbed by Austria, also experienced a new birth. Both are now self-determining and hopeful.

The birth of six new nations, as a result of the war, may prove to be of great importance to the future of Europe. The dismembering of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires accounts for the most part for this great change in the map of Europe. The largest of these are Jugoslavia, or Yugoslavia, with twelve million people, and Czechoslovakia, with a population of nearly fourteen million. Farther north are Finland, with its virile and highly educated people, and three tiny republics — Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia — all carved out of former Russian territory. These nations are wholly self-governing, but they are small and weak compared to the great powers. For their future security they depend on the protection of the League of Nations more than on their own strength.

Among the beneficent effects of the war are the great improvements in labor conditions and relations between capital and labor in all countries, the great impetus given to invention in many lines, especially in aeronautics; the discovery of a new antiseptic fluid which greatly reduces mortality from wounds and renders unnecessary about 80 per cent of amputations as compared with former practice. But the greatest of all results of the war is the calling into existence of the League of Nations, which will be the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII

War and the League of Nations

This chapter may seem out of place in this book; it deals with international subjects, in which all our people are or should be deeply interested. No nation in these days is sufficient unto itself, in isolation, as it might have been in ancient times. Our relations with foreign peoples are intimate; their interests and ours overlap and are interwoven in a thousand ways. In some countries patriotism is overstressed, and nationalism is exalted until it becomes a fetish and leads to a perverted attitude toward other peoples. The people of the world are brethren, under whatever flag they live, children of the same God. Why should they not dwell in perpetual friendship with one another? This chapter will be devoted to a great subject. The reader has a right to disagree with the author as a matter of course; but he is requested to read with an open mind.

HUMAN WARFARE

Man is not naturally cruel; but he is selfish and greedy. From his selfishness and from misunderstandings come the wars of the world. To these causes may be added another — a pugnacious instinct. Man's pugnacity arises more from his love of adventure than from the cruelty of his heart. In the male youth there is a daring spirit of adventure that courts danger. It is a shocking fact that civilized men will slay one another wholesale. It is distressing to the his-

torian that he must fill so many of his pages with the record of human bloodshed.

The echoes of the stupendous conflagration in Europe still ring in our ears. It cost the world hundreds of billions of dollars and more than sixteen million human lives. If all who lost their lives in that vast conflict were to rise from their graves and walk through your city, twenty abreast, it would take more than ten months, day and night, for the procession to go by. Behold the millions of soldier graves, the orphaned children, the ruined cities, the devastated lands, the countless crippled men who will hobble along the streets of Europe during the next half century — all a part of the wreckage cast up by the great storm.

And what of the future? Science and invention are in their infancy in devising instruments of destruction. Already, since the war ended in 1918, great strides have been made in this direction. The changes in aircraft, in submarines, in artillery are so great as scarcely to admit of comparison. The best machine gun in 1918 would shoot 350 bullets a minute; the latest ones will fire nearly 4,000 shots a minute.

As to poison gas, there are now available far more destructive gases than were used in the recent war. One of these is so deadly that it destroys all life within a wide radius. It is said that ten airplanes, hovering over New York City, could drop bombs filled with this gas and destroy in one hour every life in the great metropolis.

One thing more in this line let us notice. It is believed by many that the time is not far distant when man will be able to harness, direct, and use atomic energy, and, if so, it will mean the greatest transformation the world has ever known. All matter is composed of atoms, as is well known. So small is the atom that it requires thousands of millions of

them to make up a drop of water, or the head of a pin. The atom is composed of a nucleus or center with electrons whirling round it as the planets whirl around the sun. The speed of the electron is vast beyond human conception.[1] And herein lies a boundless storehouse of energy. We know something of molecular energy through the power of steam, the burning of gasoline, the explosion of dynamite and the like. Atomic energy is thousands of times greater. One scientist tells us that if the hydrogen atoms of a teaspoonful of water could be transmuted into helium atoms, the energy set free would be equal to 100,000 horsepower and the heat produced equal to that of a hundred tons of coal.

Will man ever be able to tap this infinite source of primordial, cosmic power? If so, the world will be transformed. Coal and fuel-oil will go to the discard. The sources of heat and power will be boundless and inexhaustible. Is man ready for such a responsibility? Will it be putting a loaded pistol into the hands of a child? If man learns to control this stupendous power, will he not turn it against his fellow men? Certainly, if wars continue upon the earth. And it will mean the destroying of whole populations, the wiping out of nations. It will mean the suicide of human civilization. As well welcome the destruction of our race by a return of the glacial period.

Is mechanical science outrunning the moral standards of the world? Is modern progress creating a Frankenstein monster that it cannot control? The only possible way to preserve civilization is for the ethical, the moral, the religious standards to predominate, to control, to curb if neces-

[1] Dr. Niels Bohr of the University of Copenhagen, one of the world's greatest scientists, informs us that the speed of the electron of the hydrogen atom, the slowest of them all, is 1,300 miles per second, and that of the atom of uranium, the fastest yet measured, is 125,000 miles per second.

sary, as the mind controls the body, all inventions and mechanical contrivances; and one of the first essentials is to decree that human warfare must be no longer. How can it be done?

EFFORTS OF THE PAST

The pages of history are appallingly bloody. But there have been voices raised against war from the days of the ancient prophets to our own time. Every method to prevent war, except one, has been tried and found wanting. In the far past it sometimes happened that they had peace through universal conquest.

About twelve centuries before Christ the Assyrian monarchy conquered the civilized world and held it in bondage for six hundred years, until the fall of Nineveh in 606 B.C. There was a sort of peace, but it was the peace of slavery. Then came the Persian Empire, which embraced the world for two centuries. And lastly Rome. For hundreds of years Rome ruled the world. There was peace, for no people dared to lift a finger in their own behalf. Any effort toward liberty was speedily crushed by Imperial Rome. It was the peace of fear, the peace of slavery. Even war is better than that.

On the fall of Rome, about fifteen hundred years ago, the people of Europe tried another plan. They segregated into nations and thus were born the Spanish nation, the French, the English, and others. And so they are still divided. Did that bring peace? It certainly did not. Every century from that time to the present has left a record of war and bloodshed. Every land has over and over again been drenched and crimsoned with human gore.

Then, late in the nineteenth century, another tack was tried. Europe was divided into alliances and ententes, each declaring that its purpose was to preserve the peace. Result? The greatest war in the history of the world!

All these efforts of the past proved fruitless. Is there any possible way left, any possible remedy for this horrible business of war? Yes, there is one remaining method to prevent war. It promises to be successful. It is expressed in a single word — *Fraternize!*

THE CAVEMAN AND THE MODERN MAN

When man was a cave-dweller and a savage he could plunder and kill his neighbor without violating any law. At length, to secure more liberty, more light and air, he emerged from his cave and built a tent. Thus we have the beginnings of civilization. But, alas for the tent-dweller! Any day all his improvements might be swept away, perhaps his family destroyed, by neighborhood warfare. To prevent such destruction a great step was taken. A number of families banded together and formed a clan. The purpose was to keep order within the clan and to put a stop to private plunder and bloodshed.

Thus many clans are formed. But now the clans fight one another. Then comes a second step in this process of evolution. A number of clans join together and form a tribe. This brings peace within the tribe, but now the tribes fight one another. The next step is for the tribes to join and form nations, as in the case of the Iroquois Indians of New York. These were prehistoric times and how many ages elapsed during the process we have no means of knowing.

But this we know: the world never got any farther before 1919, when the League of Nations was formed. Was it not high time to take this last and greatest step in this wonderful evolution? If primitive man by fraternizing, by forming clans and tribes and nations, could secure peace and happiness for his home, why cannot the whole world do the same?

A great step has been taken. At the end of the World

War, the greatest of all human organizations, the League of Nations, came into being.[1] It has many functions. It deals with international labor conditions, with traffic in narcotics, health conditions, and many other things; but its chief function is to preserve the peace of the world. The most incongruous fact in the history of the nations lies in this: That the individual is restrained by law from attacking or preying on his neighbor. If he attempts to play the caveman, he is cast into prison or put to death; but the nation puts no such restraints on itself. In our personal differences with our fellows we are obliged to arbitrate, sometimes before a court. Why should this be true of an individual and not of the nation?

Many a time a nation has played the caveman, has attacked and conquered its neighbor for plunder alone. There was no law to which a sovereign nation was subject.

The chief purpose of the League is to restrain any nation from injustice to its fellows. It protects the weak nation as our criminal law protects the weak man or woman against the criminal — and more effectually, because the criminal may run away and escape, a thing the nation cannot do. If it is necessary to have criminal laws to protect individual lives in society, is it not more important to protect whole populations from wanton attacks of a criminal nation?

When Austria fired on Serbia in 1914 she violated no law. But such a proceeding could not occur now. The League of Nations makes it a crime to do such a thing. The League is a great international forum, a diplomatic clearing house. Here the diplomats of the world meet at stated intervals to discuss their problems and settle their differences without

[1] The origin, composition, and activities of the League cannot be described in this chapter. A most excellent, brief account of these may be found in Potter and West, *International Civics*.

war. Never before in the world's history has there been an organization providing for regular meetings in which international questions could be talked over and settled in an amicable way. This alone justifies the existence of the League. Its power and authority depend wholly on its ability to mobilize and direct the public opinion of the world.

If for any reason the League of Nations should fail of its purpose there can be but one cause for such failure and only one, however humiliating it may be for us to acknowledge it. It will be because our civilization is too crude, because we are not yet far enough removed from the caveman, because our moral standards are too low for us to grasp and appreciate an idea so grand and sublime. It must come some time, if civilization is to endure; and the momentous question is: must we wade through a few more centuries of blood, or is the world ready for this great thing now?

A FEW FACTS ABOUT THE LEAGUE

Some think that if the League cannot do everything, even while it is in its infancy, it must be a failure. They forget that all great constructive movements are of slow growth. All the great organizations, all our great church bodies, all great nations were centuries in building up to what they now are. A comparison with the beginnings of our own United States will illustrate this point.

The Constitution of the United States, framed in 1787, and adopted two years later, is an important document. Our basic law, it was pronounced by Gladstone the greatest document ever struck off by the mind and purpose of man. Perhaps not one per cent of our people would be willing to scrap it and adopt some other. Was it always so? Not exactly. Let us examine.

When the Constitution was placed before the people for

their verdict, about forty per cent of them opposed it. Bitterly they fought for its defeat. They went up and down the land railing against the new constitution. "It creates a government that will become a tyrant," they shouted from rostrum and street corner. "The whole plan is a plot and conspiracy to get control of the Government and oppress the common people. It is all the work of the aristocrats." One man in the Massachusetts Legislature cried, "It is meant to swallow us up like a great leviathan; yes, just as the whale swallowed up Jonah."

These were the irreconcilables. In spite of them the new government was adopted. But that did not bring immediate peace and harmony. Beginning as early as 1796, the states one after another threatened to secede from the Union. For many years it was not believed that the Union would endure. As late as 1832, Chief Justice Marshall expressed the fear that the Union would not be permanent. Pennsylvania threatened to secede in 1808, Massachusetts and Connecticut in 1812, Ohio in 1819. Then in the sixties came actual secession; then war; then reconciliation — and the United States, as we know it, was born in 1865.

If it required the United States seventy-five years to solidify and become what it is now, can we expect the League of Nations to reach a similar condition the first few years of its existence? The League is still very young. Already it has a fine record. In fact, it has shown more evidence of maturity and permanence than the United States did in four times the same period. The members of the League are human, as we are; they will make mistakes, as we have; they will perhaps need to amend their Covenant; we have amended ours nineteen times. Is it becoming for the irreconcilables to shout, "I told you so," at every mistake the League makes? In point of fact, it has done some great

things for world peace and coöperation. A very few of these can here be noticed.

Perhaps a most notable thing the League has yet done is the creating of the World Court. This great international tribunal sits in judgment on disputed questions that arise between nations. Its decisions thus far, like those of our own courts, have been accepted by the litigants without protest. What might have been the effect on history had such a court existed during the ages of the past! The League forbids secret treaties. It has already published more than a thousand treaties, thus removing one of the greatest causes of war in the past.

The League of Nations has prevented at least seven wars. Before it was two years old it settled a dispute over the Aaland Islands for the possession of which Sweden and Finland were about to come to blows.

A serious crisis came to the League in the autumn of 1923 owing to a break between Italy and Greece over the murder of some Italian surveyors on the boundary line between Greece and Albania. Mussolini, the Italian Dictator, held Greece responsible. He sent an ultimatum to Greece that no sovereign nation could comply with. Next he sent a fleet to capture the Greek Island of Corfu in the Adriatic. Then Greece appealed to the League of Nations.

Mussolini, pounding the marble top of his table in Rome, declared that the League had no jurisdiction, that it was a matter concerning the honor and dignity of Italy, and that Italy would withdraw from the League if it did not keep its hands off. Here certainly was a crisis, a real situation.

It happened that in the Assembly of the League, then sitting at Geneva, there were men and women from all over the world who did not agree with the Italian Dictator, people who believed that it did concern the rest of the world

whether this quarrel should be permitted to plunge the world into war. Delegates from all over Europe, from Japan, Australia, South Africa, South America, representing the opinion and conscience of the world — all were ready to step forward and say to Italy, "It *is* our business! You shall not force war upon Greece!" When the assembly elected its officers not an Italian was chosen — a most patent protest and rebuke. The Italian delegates met frowns on every hand. It was clear that Italy was about to be isolated.

Mussolini, apprized of all this, changed his tone. He declared that Italy did not want war, that the fleet would be withdrawn from Corfu. And he modified almost every demand he had made on Greece. To save his face, after declaring that the League had no jurisdiction, he suggested that the Conference of Ambassadors arbitrate the matter. To this the League readily agreed. It will be remembered that the League cares not what means are employed in settling disputes; it simply demands that they be settled without war.

In December, 1927, Poland and Lithuania seemed about to engage in war. Rumors were heard of the mobilization of armies. Matters approached a crisis. And then the League stepped in. The two countries were persuaded to take the matter up with the Council of the League. In a dramatic scene, the war, which so recently had seemed unavoidable, was forgotten in the plea by the Polish and Lithuanian representatives for peace — a peace of good will, not of victory.

A notable test of the League's authority had come up in October, 1925. Greece and Bulgaria were about to leap at each other's throats. Greece already had an army on Bulgarian soil. Then something happened. A wire from the Council of the League of Nations in Paris, "Stop instantly;

get off Bulgarian soil within 24 hours!" The Greeks knew their master's voice. They withdrew without delay and later paid a fine of $219,000 for violating the covenant of the League.

Here is a stupendous power, new to history, a power to command nations. It can call a halt on any nation moving to despoil its neighbor, and its voice will be obeyed. It is the voice of the world. This power, however, must be used, like our criminal law, only when needed. Otherwise it will lose the support of public opinion and all its authority depends on that.

OUR ALOOFNESS

During the World War our two great parties worked together in fine harmony. But most unfortunately when the League was brought before the Senate in 1919 it was thrown into politics and became a partisan football. Whose fault, it matters not. The whole procedure was artificial, drummed up, false to the core. Since the Civil War the Republican and Democratic parties have been indistinguishable in their attitude on foreign relations. Domestic politics stopped with the shore. Why should they sharply differ on this one great question? In fact, they do not. The movement was led by a few politicians who subordinated great world questions to their little, selfish, partisan aspirations.

Now and then you will hear someone say, "Of course there will always be wars; you can't change human nature." So they said about dueling a century ago. Such a cheap and flimsy "argument" is worthy of the caveman. Certainly you can't change human nature; but you can change human habits. What would the feudalists of the Middle Ages, or the Scottish clansmen of three hundred years ago have thought had they been told that tribal warfare would become a thing of the past?

It is not unusual to hear something like this: "Let Europe take care of her own affairs; we'll stay on this side of the water. We have enough to do to take care of our own problems." Is this the voice of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Or is it to be compared to the act of the priest and the Levite who passed by on the other side? Or is this attitude based on the want of correct knowledge? Perhaps the last for the most part.

We are prone to forget that we are all, nearly all, Europeans, if we go back a few generations. Their ancestors and ours were the same people. As a rule, the people of Europe are as good as we are. If they keep up armaments more than we think they need, it is not because they are fond of fighting one another; it is because they are afraid. They are the victims of a system begun centuries ago by their ancestors — and ours. They are now making a sincere effort, by means of the League of Nations, to get away from that baneful system that has held them in bondage so many years.

Can Europe deliver itself from the cruel bonds of militarism? It is making a noble effort and it needs our help. It would cost us almost nothing to render it. When Washington pronounced for neutrality and Jefferson warned against entangling alliances, there was good reason for such a stand. The country was in its infancy, and any other course might have endangered its life. Those times have long passed away, and no such reason will hold good to-day. Is there any possible reason for our present aloofness except downright selfishness?

There are two very cogent reasons why we should belong to the League. The first is that Europe needs us, especially those small newborn nations in central and northern Europe, which are only learning to stand alone. Often in

their disputes and differences those nations would look to us as an umpire, unselfish and disinterested. We could be an elder brother and a wonderful help in restoring Europe from the ravages of the Great War. Or shall we continue to play the rôle of the priest and the Levite?

Second, it would be very embarrassing to the League of Nations in case of applying the boycott to an offending nation if we should refuse to observe the boycott. Suppose this had been applied to Italy in the Corfu case. And suppose Uncle Sam had said, "I am not a member of your League and I refuse to observe your form of discipline. I shall continue to trade with Italy as I like."

It is impossible to believe that our great Government could be so sordid and selfish and so reckless of world peace as to take such a course. But suppose it should; the consequences might be very grave indeed. One of two things might happen: The League might be so weakened by failure to enforce its own discipline as to be shattered to pieces; or, second, the League might declare war on the United States. Either would be incalculably lamentable.

There is a third reason why we should be on the inside: We ought to be ashamed, great and rich as we are, to permit the other nations to bear all the burdens, all the expense, to take all the trouble and do all the work in keeping the world at peace, while we enjoy that peace just as fully as they do. We can continue, if we will, to shirk the responsibility and yet enjoy all the benefits.

OBJECTIONS TO THE LEAGUE

During the Senate debate on the League many predictions were made of the dire consequences that would follow in case the United States became a member.

One of the objections to the League, sounded from the

housetops by its enemies, was that it is a supergovernment. "It would rob us of our liberty were we to join the League. America must be free to follow its own bent under all conditions. We will never surrender our independence. Away with your so-called League! We'll have none of it."

The objection is saturated with fallacy. Is a nation more entitled to absolute freedom than are the several individuals that compose the nation? If so, why? Has a nation more right to slap a neighbor in the face than a man has? If you live in human society, you are not wholly free. You must observe the laws. What would you think of a big bully swaggering along the streets of your city declaring that he refused to observe the rules of society or the laws of the country? If you belong to a church, are you free to violate its rules? The only way to live a life of perfect freedom is to go to a mountain or a desert and live alone.

Are not France, England, and other nations as proud of their liberty as we are of ours? How comes it that not one of them ever referred to the League of Nations as a superstate or refused to join it because they would be giving up part of their liberty? Our irreconcilables shouted to the world that by joining the League we would be putting our head in a noose, entering a trap, and that the real purpose of the League was "to put something over" on Uncle Sam.

Isn't it strange that *We* were the only people in the world smart enough to see through the cunning designs of the League! No, not *We* the people! It was *a little coterie of irreconcilables*, men too narrow to think in world terms, constituting a small, tail-like appendage that succeeded in wagging the dog.

The truth is, the League of Nations is not a superstate. It has nothing to do with the government or domestic affairs of any nation. In one respect it puts a check on a

nation's liberty; it forbids one nation to attack another without cause. And what a sad pity it is that there was not some power to do that same thing during the bloody centuries of the past!

Another objection to the League was that it would cost a great deal of money and that our country, being the richest nation, would be expected to pay most of the bills. Here are the facts: The League costs about four million dollars a year, less than one-eighth the cost of a modern, first-class battleship. The nations pay according to their wealth. England is the largest payer and the expense to her is about one-tenth of one per cent of her army and navy bill. Were we a member of the League the expense to us in five years would be not more than our expense was for one hour in the World War.

One of the prime arguments against the League was that it would require a large army, perhaps several of them, in constant service to keep the peace of the world, and of course we with our vast wealth and population would be expected to do more than our share. Our soldier boys would be sent in all seasons, to the uttermost parts of the earth, from the burning tropics to the frigid regions of the North, to police the world and keep order. Thus argued the short-sighted in loud tones. And on some that argument had a profound effect. What are the facts?

The League of Nations has no army, never had, never commanded a soldier over night. It needs no army and probably never will — no more than our Supreme Court needs an army. What a tremendous power is our Supreme Court in this country. Its decrees are accepted as a matter of course. So it is with the League of Nations. Its decrees will be accepted without force. It is true that the power of the United States is behind the decisions of the Court, but

it never needs to be used. So the power of all the nations is behind the decrees of the League; but such power will not likely ever need to be used. Our Monroe Doctrine has been enforced for a hundred years without a drop of bloodshed. If one nation, by a mere decree, can do so great a thing, what can fifty-six nations do?

CONCLUSION

The League of Nations is a great institution designed to put a stop to the caveman practices of nations — and isn't it strange, passing strange, that great, benevolent, altruistic, peace-loving America should be the only one to dash cold water on this movement so promising to the future happiness of the world? If there is a noose for our neck, or a trap for our feet, and we should actually fall into it, could we not extricate ourselves? I think we are big enough for anything. Thus far we have acted like a child afraid of the dark.

It is generally agreed that if the League of Nations had existed in 1914, the Great War would not have come. It is believed that Germany would not have invaded Belgium had she known that we would later enter the war, and it is also believed that she would have refrained from doing so had she known that England was about to declare war. Had the League existed, she would have known all such things in advance. She would have known that she was drawing the sword on the world. Would a nation in its right mind do that?

We, the American people (at least ninety-nine per cent of us), are pacifists, in the proper meaning of that word — that is, we want to live in peace with all nations. We love peace and hate war. We do not think it necessary for men to slay one another, wholesale, merely because they cannot

agree at all points. Why cut young men down, at the threshold of life, before they have had a chance for self-development? Why sacrifice them to the war god, to be devoured by hundreds, by thousands, by millions, before they have had an opportunity to live?

Such is the opinion of the American people. And the same thing is true, no doubt, of the vast majority of the people in every nation under the sun. And it was true in 1914!

Why then that stupendous conflagration?

The answer is not far to seek. It was because the people were unorganized. They had no way of expressing themselves collectively. Peace societies there were aplenty in all countries, but when the crisis came they were speechless. We may have our gatherings and talk peace and pass resolutions. We may write editorials and make speeches and publish books. We may tell the world in strident tones of the blessings of peace and the hellishness of war. But all this, at a moment of crisis, will get us nowhere without organization — international organization.

Every true American who can do so should be ready to shoulder a musket and rush to battle in case of national danger, in case the crisis does come. But, with proper international organization, every such crisis can be prevented.

In 1914 a few rampant war lords, burning for military glory, misled, bamboozled their people into believing that they were fighting for existence, that their country was in danger, and soon had them worked up to a high pitch of pugnacious enthusiasm. Is there no way to curb and control the war lord? Yes, one way and only one. A great voluntary supernational organization, devoted to the maintenance of peace, representing the world's public opinion, can say to the war lord, "Thus far and no farther." The

war lord will hear; he will heed; he will obey. No man, no nation can disregard that voice. It is the voice of the world.

The opponents of the League of Nations have nothing to offer in its place. Their attitude seems to imply that the world should go on as it has been doing in the past, which of course would mean that we must wade through a sea of blood every once in a while. And that would mean, as before stated, with our wonderful advance in scientific invention, the eventual suicide of human civilization.

Some say the League is on the wrong track. You can't convert people by force they say. Begin by educating all the people, including the war lords: show them the blessing of peace and the horrors of war. Don't try to force peace on the world; bring it about by conversion. Certainly; and why do not the great cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago deal in that manner with their criminals! All they need to do is to show their thieves and bandits the evil of their ways, convert them, and then — disband their police force!

A great New York daily recently declared that Mr. Elihu Root, of all living Americans, deserves the title, the First Citizen of the Republic. What does Mr. Root think of the League of Nations? In a recent speech he declared that "the League has rendered incomparably the best service in the cause of peace known to the history of civilization," and that nothing but "insensate prejudice" kept us from joining it.

President Lowell of Harvard said, "The United States must, eventually, join the League of Nations, because in it will be discussed and decided all the great world problems. We are interested in them all."

Mr. Lloyd George, former premier of England and General Ian Smuts of South Africa have both declared that the

League of Nations must succeed, because there is no other way for civilization.

Will we in time become a member of the League? It would seem so, unless the law of gravity ceases to work. We are swinging nearer year by year. There are Americans appointed by our President, on many of the important commissions of the League. Why should we continue to deny ourselves a vote in the Council and the Assembly where all the great questions are discussed?

At all events, we must rejoice with the rest of the world in the existence of this greatest of all human institutions, and wish it success in deciding the momentous questions that come before it. No people can be more interested in the great questions of humanity than we are.

May we not look forward to the near approach of the time, if it is not already here, when the champing war-steed, the rattling saber, the glittering sword will be thrown into the discard; the time, in the prophetic words of Tennyson,

> When the war-drums throb no longer,
> When the battle flags are furled,
> In the Parliament of Man,
> The Federation of the World!

CHAPTER XIX

Science and Invention in the Twentieth Century

Never before in the world's history has there been a period that showed as remarkable progress in science and invention as that which characterizes the first quarter of the twentieth century. It is true that the nineteenth century gave us steam navigation, the electric telegraph, the telephone, the automobile, and many other inventions of great importance and that without these our progress of recent years would have been impossible. Yet it remained for the twentieth century to give to the world such inventions and discoveries as had been but lately considered fantastic dreams.

In scientific discovery every new thing is based on something that has gone before. Every generation inherits from the past an enormous store of knowledge, the accumulation of all the ages, and to this store it makes its contribution. This ever-increasing stock of knowledge and of useful inventions explains the secret of the progress of civilization.

WONDERS OF THE SKY

When we look up into the night sky we see the same things our ancestors saw a hundred or a thousand years ago. Even the relative position of the stars that bespangle the heavens has changed but little in historic times. Though the stars seem to us to occupy the same position century after century, they are all moving with great speed through the boundless depths of space, as the astronomers tell us; but their motion is unnoticed because of their tremendous distances from us and from one another.

From the days when the Chaldean stargazers searched the sky at night from the hills and housetops of Babylon, from the time when Job wrote of the Pleiades and Arcturus and of Orion, man has been a diligent student of the heavens.[1] Many things we have learned about the universe.

We know that the earth is not, as the ancients believed, the center of creation. It is one of eight great globes spinning forever around the sun from which they receive light and heat and whose force of gravitation keeps them from flying away in boundless space. We know that an eclipse of the moon is caused by the cone-shaped shadow of the earth sweeping across the face of the full moon, and that an eclipse of the sun is caused, not by a shadow, but by the moon itself crossing the face of the sun. We know that when we look into the night sky every star that we see (except four or five that may be planets of our own solar system) is a mighty sun, and many of them are thousands of times larger than our own sun.

Our travels through space are continuous and very complex. First we travel a thousand miles an hour with the earth as it turns on its axis; then we are moving with the earth around the sun at the rate of nineteen miles a second: and finally, the sun with his family of planets is moving through space at the rate of about thirteen miles a second.

Celestial spaces are measured by the light year as the unit of measurement, that is, the distance light travels in a year. The swiftest of all things known is light — 186,000 miles a second its speed — and a light year is the distance light travels in a year — about six trillion miles. And so inconceivably vast is interstellar space that the nearest star is four and a third light years away. Here is an illustration:

[1] But it must be added that for some centuries during the Middle Ages the study of astronomy was almost wholly neglected.

Suppose we reduce the sun to the size of a baseball, and we are in one of the ball parks in New York City. The earth would be a very tiny birdshot, one thirteen-hundred-thousandth the size of the baseball, about thirty feet from it. On this scale the nearest of the stars (Alpha Centauri) would be another baseball more than a thousand miles away — beyond Chicago, in Florida, or in Northern Canada.

Since the beginning of our century astronomy has made wonderful progress, especially since 1920. By means of great telescopes, of the spectroscope, and of the interferometer an astronomer can determine not only the distance of stars but also the elements of which they are composed, their density, temperature, speed, and direction. The stars fly in all directions with great speed; many of them are composed of glowing gas; others are solid, many times denser than iron. If any of them have planets flying around them, as our sun has, the distance is so great that the telescope has no power to reveal them. Before 1920 the diameter of no star had been measured. Since then marvelous revelations have been made. One star (Antares) was found to be four hundred million miles in diameter. If it were a hollow shell and our sun were in its center, the earth and Mars could continue their courses around the sun and their orbits would still be many million miles from the outer shell.

We can see with the natural eye only two to three thousand stars at one time; but the photographic plate reveals billions of stars, at distances so appalling as to be inconceivable to the human mind; some of them are said to be a million light years from our system.

Modern astronomy has brought much enlightenment to the human mind; it has destroyed much superstition. But it has not destroyed and cannot destroy any truth or reality.

It can destroy only materialistic and superstitious religion that is not worth saving. As one scientist puts it, "Science cannot lay a finger on a spiritual religion; that kind of religion will live serenely aloof from all that telescopes and spectroscopes can reveal.[1]

PROGRESS IN CHEMISTRY

To relate the whole story of chemical progress in the last quarter century would require volumes. Here we can only glance at a few of the high spots.

Nothing is more important in recent chemical achievement than the "fixation" of nitrogen. As a fertilizer of the soil nitrogen is indispensable; it is necessary to all plant life. The world has long depended for its supply on the nitrate beds of Chili and on the German factories. Four-fifths of the air is nitrogen. A little of it is released and sent to the ground with every thunderstorm, but not enough to supply the wants of agriculture. Laboratories are being built for the fixing, or separating by an electrical process, of the nitrogen from the oxygen of the air, and the business is growing rapidly. In 1914 one per cent of the commercial nitrogen used was obtained by this process. At present nearly fifty per cent is so obtained.

Agricultural Experiment stations, of which there are more than sixty in the United States, are of great service to the farmer. They test out soils and grains and fruits of all kinds and publish their findings. Corn products, for example, have reached a state of wide usefulness. Corn oil, extracted from the germ of the grain of corn, is used for the manufacture of paints and soaps; it is used for food, as lard and butter substitutes, and in making rubber as well; the corn cob is used in making paper, adhesives, and fiber board.

[1] Ward, *Exploring the Universe*, p. 21.

The by-products of the slaughter house, of petroleum, and of cotton seed, formerly thrown away, have developed into great commercial value.

In nothing perhaps are the by-products more remarkable than in bituminous coal. When coal is made into coke by means of the recently invented by-products oven, many other useful elements are also obtained. A ton of coal will produce 1,425 pounds of coke and 10,000 cubic feet of gas; also about ten pounds of ammonia, seven gallons of tar, and nearly three gallons of light oil. The ammonia is used in refrigeration, in making explosives, and as a soil fertilizer. The tar has many uses, as in road building, roofing, and making dyes.

The world is greatly indebted to chemistry for its progress in the past quarter century, but it is believed that far greater achievements lie ahead. The following paragraphs are from an address by Dr. Arthur B. Lamb, professor of chemistry at Harvard University.[1]

Sooner or later we must have recourse to the energy of sunlight. The most promising possibility of utilizing this energy is by means of some photochemical and electrochemical process which would transform it directly into electric energy. This is evidently a problem primarily for the chemist.

Our present supply of food is relatively adequate. But the population of the world is increasing with great rapidity, and economists tell us that we are approaching a saturation point. Now at bottom, our food is all of vegetable origin, and vegetation is dependent for its growth on a chemical reaction.

This reaction, while indeed remarkable, is, nevertheless, very slow and, so far as its absorption of light energy is concerned, very inefficient. It is not at all unlikely that some other means can be perfected by the chemist whereby carbon dioxide and water

[1] Delivered at the dedication of a new chemistry building of New York University, December 3, 1927.

can be made to combine more rapidly and with a greater efficiency of absorption of the energy of sunlight. In other words, it may well be possible to produce in hours and in the sunlight falling on a few square yards an amount of starch for which Nature would require months of time and acres of sunlight. Should something of this kind be realized food factories would be established in places of perennial sunshine such, for instance, as the Desert of Sahara — and these arid wastes would become the granaries of the world!

As to the prevention and cure of disease, chemists have already developed in a relatively few years a surprising array of specific drugs and chemicals. Yet the possibilities of synthetic chemistry have been barely reconnoitered. We can confidently expect, therefore, that chemists will synthetize drugs of the utmost potency — and that, therefore, our present success is but a faint adumbration of the achievements that are to come.

ELECTRICITY AND RADIO

No line of human progress has been more striking during the early decades of the twentieth century than our knowledge and use of electricity. It is now possible for us to talk to our fellow men across the continent and across the sea, to move our railroad trains and trolley cars by electric power, to light our city streets, to light and heat our homes, to cook our food, and to freeze our ice cream. It has long been known that all matter is composed of atoms, each atom being composed of a proton or nucleus with electrons flying around it; and it has recently been discovered that electricity is composed of loose electrons, each being a tiny center of electric energy. So infinitely small is the electron that a billion of them lying side by side would be required to make a line one inch long.

A stream of electrons passing through a wire makes an electric current. If the wire be copper or silver the current

moves almost with the speed of light, 186,000 miles a second, and so freely that it scarcely affects the temperature of the wire. Through other metals the passage is more difficult. Take, for example, the electric lamp that lights your room. The current rushes through a copper wire until it reaches the bulb when it passes into a very thin wire or filament of tungsten, a metal through which the current passes with difficulty. In its struggle to get through, it instantly makes the tungsten wire white hot — and thus you have your light. The bulb must be a vacuum, or contain only gases that will not burn, nitrogen or argon; for if the bulb were filled with air the wire would quickly burn to ashes.

The most wonderful of all human inventions is radio. It is an outgrowth of wireless telegraphy, perfected by the Italian inventor Marconi. Radio is wireless telephony. The broadcasting station produces the sound and the impulse is carried in ether waves with the speed of light of the receiving set, which reproduces the sound.

Who can imagine anything more marvelous than the fact that as you sit in your room the air about you is filled with ether waves, hovering around you in countless millions, invisible and inaudible, from every broadcasting station in the world? With the proper apparatus you can capture the waves and reproduce the sound that started them, perhaps thousands of miles away. These ether waves will pass through the earth or water or solid masonry, as well as through the air; and though electricity is necessary in producing and receiving the sound, the waves are not an electric current. No scientist can tell what they are. But science can tell us something about them. Ether vibrations are all alike, except in length. If they are less than a millionth of a meter in length, they produce light; if somewhat longer, they produce heat; if they are 100 meters (328 feet) or more

in length, we have radio. So great is the speed of the waves that if you are listening to an orator a thousand miles away you can hear his voice before it is heard by the people who sit before him in the same room, and though the waves are a thousand feet apart, more than two million of them will reach your receiver every second. If you are listening to a speaker in Japan, you hear every word before the next one is uttered.[1]

The year 1927 will be credited in future with the invention of television, the reproduction to the eye of distant scenes by means of the radio and of the telephone. Still another notable invention is announced — the "talking movies," in which the voice of the actor on the screen will be heard while the picture is being shown.

MECHANICAL INVENTIONS

Great advance has been made during the present century in moving pictures. In addition to the talking movie, the presentation of scenes in natural colors has reached almost a state of perfection by means of color photography. It is possible, moreover, through the highly developed art of photography, to picture the beating of the heart, the circulation of the blood, the movement of machinery, and a thousand other things in the most realistic way. Photography and the movies have grown into one of the great industries of the country with the investment of hundreds of millions of dollars.

Of all the industrial developments of the twentieth century the most striking perhaps is aviation. For more than a century various inventors were working toward a successful

[1] Radio, like many inventions, was the development of years. It is not easy to name its inventor. Professor Lee DeForest invented the vacuum tube. Reginald A. Fessenden, J. A. Fleming, and Michael I. Pupin all deserve much credit for bringing about the radio.

flying machine. Many were almost successful, but not before the present century did the air flights become a practical reality. Professor Samuel P. Langley deserves perhaps more credit than any other American for the invention of the airplane. But his plane, like all that preceded it, lacked one thing needful — a device that would prevent it from turning over on the side. This want was supplied by Wilbur and Orville Wright, who first made flying practical in 1908.

The Wright brothers studied the models of other inventors and they supplied the missing link. In addition to the front and rear rudder for raising or lowering or turning the airplane in flight, they devised a flap or rudder at the edge of each wing to be worked by a lever. This was the one contribution of the Wrights to human flying and it was the only thing needed. Man could now navigate the air.

Before the end of the year 1909 the world was on fire, especially the United States and France, with the reports of human flight. Prizes were offered for speed and distance flights, one of which was won by M. Bleriot, a Frenchman, for making the first flight across the English Channel.

The Great War in Europe did much to perfect the airplane. Each side did everything in its power to beat the other and the result was that air flight was far more efficient at the close of the war than at its beginning. Since the war, air mail service has been established in many parts of the country and here and there passenger service is making a beginning; but in that respect Europe has far surpassed us.

The first non-stop flight across the Atlantic was made in 1919 by Captain John Alcock, from Newfoundland to Ireland, by which he won a $50,000 prize, offered by the London *Daily Mail*. The same year an American navy plane flew from Newfoundland to Lisbon, Spain, making one stop at the Azores.

In May, 1927, Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh attracted world attention and won great fame by flying from New York to Paris entirely alone. He was received in Europe with great applause and again on his return to America. Within a few weeks two other non-stop flights to Europe had been made and one from San Francisco to the Hawaiian Islands.

No doubt there is a great future to the flying machine. It is the most spectacular development of our time. Some think it will come into common use like the automobile; but such a thing is hardly probable unless it be through the perfecting of the helicopter, a device by which an airplane can rise vertically from the ground and descend in the same way.

In many other lines of industry great progress has been made in the last two or three decades. In forecasting the weather the apparatus has reached a high state of perfection. At many stations all over the country observations are taken — the pressure and temperature of the air, the direction and velocity of the wind and the like; all these, telegraphed to the Weather Bureau at Washington, enable the officials to make weather forecasts for a day or two that are usually accurate. The forecasting of storms on the lakes and on the coasts are of immense value to shipping.

Improvements in machinery for the saving of human toil and increasing the product are being made in many fields, especially in such great industries as railroads, iron and steel, the printing press, and building operations. Many great industries employ inventors and chemists on regular salary and they are among their most indispensable employees. One chemist informed the writer that if he did not earn or save for his firm at least $200,000 a year, he felt that he was falling below his standard. In many industries one

laborer by tending a machine can do more than ten could do a century ago. The result has greatly increased production to supply the world's wants. And the end is not yet. Modern industry is still moving swiftly in the direction of greater efficiency and greater marvels.

One Hundred and Fifty Years[1]

In all parts of the United States was celebrated in 1926 the Sesqui-Centennial of the birth of the nation. The celebration reached its highest point in a great International Exposition held in the historic old city of Philadelphia, opening on June 1 and closing December 1, 1926.

The purpose of the Exposition was, not only to enhance the interest of the people in their country and to show the astonishing progress of the people in the arts, sciences, and industries, but, above all, to emphasize to the world the infinite benefit to mankind that has accrued from the development of the great democratic idea embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

THE GREATEST PERIOD IN HISTORY

The greatest fact in the history of the last century and a half lies, not in the vast expansion of industry and commerce, not in the discoveries of science and the invention of machinery, marvelous as they have been; but rather in the growth of democracy and self-government. In nearly all the leading nations of the world this modern period has been devoted to acquiring and extending these divine rights of the common man, as proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence. From that little germ has grown a tree of stupendous dimensions whose branches have spread out to the farthest boundaries of civilization.

The man of the Middle Ages, bound to the soil by the iron fetters of caste, with little privilege, except the privilege

[1] This closing section is taken from the last chapter of Elson, *History of the United States*, pp. 994–996, The Macmillan Company.

of serving his feudal master, has merged into the freeman of to-day. Two centuries ago nearly every European country was an absolute despotism, the monarch having sole power over taxation and over the lives of his subjects. To-day not a man in Europe can be legally condemned by a royal decree nor taxed a dollar without the consent of his own representatives. Certainly the feudal knight has been unhorsed and the privileged classes have been degraded. The Bourbons have fallen, and the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. The left-over monarchies of to-day are but shadows of the tyrannical kingdoms of the past. In the New World, from Canada to Argentina, and in the Old, from the arctic circle to the Mediterranean, men have acquired self-ownership, have emerged from the darkness of the past and are living in the holy light of liberty.

A striking example of the sweep of democracy and the downfall of autocracy during the last hundred years is shown by comparing the Congress of Vienna, at the close of the Napoleonic wars, in 1815, with the greater Conference of Paris, at the close of the World War, 1919. The Congress of Vienna was made up of emperors and kings and nobles. In the Conference at Paris there was not a crowned head and only one person of prominence who bore a title of nobility. The comparison impresses the mind with the amazing fact of modern democracy.

In this vast democratic movement our own country has played the leading part. Our Revolution inspired the French in their revolt against tyranny and the French led the rest of Europe. During the following century our success in self-government, in spite of our blunders, furnished the peoples of Europe with a steady, continuous, living example and inspired them, after many relapses, to take heart and try again.

If it be agreed that Abraham Lincoln was the most notable world figure of the nineteenth century, the reason lies in the fact that he was on the uppermost crest of that vast wave of democracy that swept over the world, which included the freeing of the slaves in all civilized lands. . . .

WHAT OF THE FUTURE OF AMERICA?

Our Hundred and Fifty Years has been a great period. It has registered for us as a people many notable achievements and has pointed out still greater duties that lie before us. The American of the future is still in the making. As the Englishman of to-day is distinct from the races of his ancestry, so the American of the future will be in a class by himself. The strains of European blood, like the rivulets that form a river, will blend into one and lose their identity. Here will be blended, as nowhere else in the world, the great races, the Nordic, the Alpine, and the Mediterranean — here they will commingle in the forming of a new race — the American of the future.

What of the future of America? The question can be answered only through the unfolding of the years and the centuries. As a people we are no doubt on the upgrade. Our system of universal education, the unselfish work of the churches and of many civic and benevolent organizations are molding the minds and hearts of millions. . . . We have great problems yet to be solved and we shall perhaps be no more exempt in the future from blunders and relapses and discouragements than we have been in the past. But we are making progress and as a whole we are steadily advancing in intelligence and in civic and moral virtue, and herein lies the hope of the future. If the people are capable of seeing what is wrong, when things go wrong, the future is secure.

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